



Daily Report

East Europe

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President Alia Returns From Visit to Turkey

*AU1810213091 Tirana ATA in English 1912 GMT
18 Oct 91*

[Text] Tirana, October 18 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia had some other meetings and visits in Istanbul on October 18 before noon. During his stay in Istanbul, he was accompanied by the president of the Republic of Turkey Turgut Ozal.

President Ramiz Alia had a working meeting with Turkey's premier, Mesut Yilmaz, during which they had talks on bilateral relations and regional issues. Albania, President Ramiz Alia said, is switching from one economic and political system onto another. Naturally, this is accompanied with difficulties, but we believe that we shall surmount them, relying on the work of our people and counting on the aid of the friends, particularly of the close friends, as Turkey is for us.

We are on the threshold of elections, Premier Yilmaz said. But I came from Hasara for this meeting willingly to voice the readiness of the Turkish Government to help Albania, wherever we are able to.

President Ramiz Alia and Premier Yilmaz were of the opinion that the two countries should have higher level political contacts to help each other, in service of peace and security in the region.

In the meeting they spoke of the regional issues. They voiced the joint concern for the multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, initiated with great confidence time ago, which is not satisfactory at present. President Ramiz Alia and Premier Yilmaz noticed the similarity of views on issues discussed.

Then President Alia accompanied by President Turgut Ozal paid a visit to "Metro Orosmarket" which trades diversified products of small enterprises. A very warm reception was extended to the Albanian president in the "Yenibosna" industrial centre.

The director of the industrial centre, Sali Levenci wished welcome to President Ramiz Alia and voiced the satisfaction for this visit. He presented President Ramiz Alia with a medal inscribed: "In token of gratitude for the visit here by the president of the Republic of Albania, Mr. Ramiz Alia".

Later the president visited the Blue Mosque, by the renowned architect Sinani. Likewise, President Ramiz Alia visited one of the greatest museum centres, Topkapi.

In honour of the President Ramiz Alia, President Turgut Ozal gave a dinner at the "Konjoll" Restaurant situated in one of the environments of this museum centre.

In continuation a trip in helicopter over Istanbul and then to the "Ataturk" airport where President Ramiz Alia was received by compatriots residing in Istanbul. He spoke to them on the democratic processes in Albania and on the

economic reform. It is natural that in these reforms all the Albanians wherever they are may make their contribution, he said.

At present we have completed the legislation safeguarding the investments in Albania. Later, President Alia spoke to them on the situation in Kosovo and other territories inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia.

The chairman of the solidarity cultural association "Vellazeria Shqiptare" (Albanian Fraternity), Xhelaletin Elmezau thanked the President Ramiz Alia for this meeting.

President Ramiz Alia and President Turgut Ozal made a press statement before the numerous journalists of various newspapers and television. Amongst others they pointed to the very good relations existing between the two countries and the common desire to forge them ahead. Both presidents stressed that during the talks they noticed a similarity of views on the problems discussed.

On October 18, afternoon, President Ramiz Alia left Istanbul. At the "Ataturk" airport he was seen off by the President Turgut Ozal and other senior personalities. President Ramiz Alia arrived to Tirana on October 18.

Government Discusses Economic Reform With Parties

*AU2010152491 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT
20 Oct 91*

[Text] Tirana, October 20 (ATA)—A meeting of the Government of the National Stability with representatives of the political parties participants in the government coalition was organized in the seat of the Council of Ministers recently.

At the beginning of the meeting the Premier Ylli Bufi said to the representatives of the parties that he had asked for such a meeting to talk and exchange opinions on the platform of the economic reform the government will soon forward to the People's Assembly to approve the legal context of the reform. A package of draft laws is presented in the program of the reform. The objective of the government, he said, is that this platform explains the logic of the reform and the main ways it will follow. The question is not to reform special aspects but to begin the application of the reform on a frontal basis. To this end, the premier underlined, support and consensus on the part of the country's political forces is demanded.

Further on, the representatives of the political parties made a number of questions on the platform the government had prepared and given to them before for examination, which were responded to by the prime minister and the members of the government that were present.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers said among others that this platform is made known to international institutions, IMF, the World Bank, etc., to foreign experts and they have accepted it. The financial sources for the realisation of the reform, he said, will be foreign. For all these, as well as for the realization of the partial

convertibility of the currency, demands have been presented to the international economic and financial institutions, the European Community, the 24-Group, etc. We will make our steps according to the real support given to us.

Further on, the premier and the members of the government made explanations on separate matters of the reform. Opinions were exchanged between them and the representatives of the political parties. A constructive debate took place which aimed not only at the improvement of various aspects of the platform to be presented to the parliament, but first of all, at the development of the reform on a road which will guarantee the quickest and the less painful results. The stress was also laid in particular on the need of observing the adopted laws and the need of stability in the public order.

During the meeting, all the representatives of the political parties underscored the consensus and their support for the government so that the economic reform starts as the only way out of the economic, political and social crisis.

Opposition Parties Hold Rally in Fier

*AU2010201091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Oct 91*

[Text] The branches of the Democratic Party, Republican Party, Social Democratic Party, and the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions [BPSSh] in Fier District organized a rally in the main square of the city of Fier yesterday afternoon.

Speakers stressed that a greater struggle to eradicate communism is a precondition for the full triumph of democracy in Albania.

Cerciz Mingomataj, speaking on behalf of the Republican Party's Managing Committee, said that our party has strongly raised its voice in favor of democracy. However, democracy is still a distant prospect, without conclusively obliterating every trace of communism and the dictatorship.

Teodor Laco, the Social Democratic Party's representative, said that time is working in favor of democracy. Let us preserve our still-fragile democracy from the dangers of [words indistinct], and let us all mount its barricade.

Democratic Party Chairman Sali Berisha, after dwelling on some of the successes that have been achieved, such as Albania's admission to the CSCE, the IMF, and the World Bank, stressed that the Democratic Party considers national conciliation to be vital. Confining ourselves to the motto an opposition but brothers, we recognize everyone's right to different views in banishing the specter of communism. He said that one of the greatest achievements of democracy has been the privatization of land, which will make Albanians the masters of the land and of Albania itself. However, the government must give great help to the peasants.

Popular Alliance Briefs Media on Policies

*AU2010190691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1700 GMT 20 Oct 91*

[Text] The Managing Committee of the Albanian Popular Alliance, in cooperation with the party's Tirana branch, held a news conference in the National History Museum in Tirana yesterday. Members from the national press, representatives of political parties and associations, and others attended. Fatmir Cekani, chairman of the National Democratic Party, also attended.

Hasan Hasani, party general secretary, opened the news conference. Sejdi Kondi, president of the Albanian Popular Alliance, spoke about the party's program and its activities to date. He said that, in order to overcome insecurity, despair, and loss of faith in the future, it is necessary for genuine opposition parties that aspire to democracy to coordinate their struggle to destroy the entire existing state structure, to eradicate communism, and to lay the foundations of a truly juridical and democratic order, as other countries have. He then replied to questions about the party's program, the Land Law, national problems, and so forth.

Kondi stressed the priority the party gives to relations with the United States, Germany, and other countries, without denying the help of Italy, Turkey, and others; our country's membership in NATO; and other issues. To achieve these things, the residents of the leadership compound [bllokene] and former holders of privileges who unfairly profited at the people's expense for 47 years must be brought to political trial, and justice must be established, giving former property owners compensation for their property seized by the dictatorship, apart from those who can be proved by special courts to have used their earnings for antinational purposes.

Democratic Front Becomes Albanian National Union

*AU2010152891 Tirana ATA in English 0936 GMT
20 Oct 91*

[Text] Tirana, October 20 (ATA)—The national conference of the Democratic Front of Albania [DFA] convened in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana on October 19, before noon. The speech on the occasion was held by the secretary of the Steering Council of the DFA, Zeqir Lushaj. Those present made numerous contributions, aired opinions and suggestions on the presented documents, the draft-platform and draft-decisions.

The meeting adopted unanimously the decision on the dissolution of the organization of the Democratic Front of Albania and the creation of the independent sociopolitical organization "The Albanian National Union."

Likewise, it decided that the steering councils, elected recently in the centre and districts, act in the capacity of the initiating commissions for the formation of the

National Union organisation. These commissions are open for every activist, despite the political convictions and religious pertaining.

The conference appealed to all Albanians living on their territories outside the Republic of Albania and to those of the diaspora to create the initiating commissions and take part in this all-national organisation. The conference decided that the material and financial means, property of the Democratic Front of Albania should pass onto the ownership of the Albanian National Union organization. Besides it was decided that the first national assembly of the Albanian National Union organisation convene during 1992.

Government Meets Trade Union Representatives

AU2010152691 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT
20 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 20 (ATA)—On October 17 afternoon and on October 19 before noon, meetings were organized in the seat of the Council of Ministers between the representatives of the Trade Union Confederation and Federation and leaders of the ministries. They in the meeting discussed on the realisation of the demands that the Trade Union Confederation and the Federation have forwarded to the government and the ministries.

The vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Zydi Pepa, demanded that the leaders of central departments should report on these matters.

They reflected with transparency what has been made and is under way now by the ministries for the solution of the questions raised by the Trade Union Confederation and Federation and presented the objective difficulties for the rapid solution of some demands.

The leaders of the Trade Union Federations of Mines and Geologists and Enrichers, of Agriculture, Chemistry-Metallurgy, Education and Science, of the Working People of Food Articles, Health Sector, Trade, etc., brought to the fore those demands of the Trade Union Federation they represent which are still unsolved. They made criticisms for the sluggishness of the work of special ministries which for

subjective reasons are not solving some worrying problems for the workers in time such as those related with housing, transport, working conditions.

The chairman of the Confederation of the Trade Unions of Albania Kastriot Muco raised the problems which are worrying the workers who are participants in the trade union federations such as those of the order and life security from criminality which keeps growing, of the supply with raw materials of some enterprises which are efficient and can and should go on working, etc. Many leaders of the Trade Union Federation demanded from the government and the respective ministries to mediate more energetically towards the speculators who are selling at uncontrolled prices articles they ensure from the state. The representatives of the trade unions stressed that the government should have attached importance to the preparation of some draft laws which are important for the application of the economic reform, such as the draft law for the enterprises, for the working contracts, etc.

The vice chairman of the Council of Ministers Zydi Pepa valued in general as just the problems raised in this meeting and stressed the commitment of the government for their solution.

On the same day, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi had a talk with the leaders of the Trade Union Confederation and Federation on the economic reform to be applied according to the program of the government as the only way to bring the economy out of the difficult situation. After stressing the main moments of the reform, the prime minister concentrated in particular on the draft law on the state enterprises. He pointed out also the difficulties which may emerge while applying the reform during which the government will take into consideration the social aspects.

The prime minister spoke of the relation of the trade unions with the government over this period of time, of the need of continuous contacts between them for the solution of the problems which will emerge during the reform. After receiving the answers to the questions they put, the participants in the meeting evaluated the need of such contacts also in the future among the trade union federations, the government and the ministries.

Final Official Election Results Announced

AU2110105491 Sofia BTA in English 1034 GMT
21 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 21 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) won the October 13 elections receiving 110 seats in Bulgaria's new 240-member parliament. "The opposition has won against the Bulgarian Communist Party for the first time since it was crushed in 1946," UDF leader Filip Dimitrov told a BTA reporter. The Communist (now Socialist) Party, which ruled the country in the past 46 years, got 106 seats. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) preserved its positions of third major political force winning 24 seats.

The Central Electoral Commission (CEC) released the official election results today. 83.87 percent of electors took part in the vote.

The UDF polled 1,903,567 votes (34.36 percent) out of a total of 5,540,837 valid ballot-papers, the valid votes cast for the Election Alliance of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) are 1,836,050 (33.14 percent), the MRF polled 418,168 (7.55 percent) valid votes.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United), which last year won 16 seats, failed to cope with the 4 percent quota—the minimum required to get into parliament. It polled 214,052 votes (3.86 percent). The Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party, UDF Centre and UDF Liberals, which split from the UDF a little before the elections and ran on election tickets of their own, failed to get into parliament too.

About 25 percent of the votes are distributed among smaller parties and independent candidates. A total of 38 parties, coalitions and independent candidates ran in the October 13 elections. The smaller parties of the BSP election alliance got one to three seats in parliament.

President Zhelyu Zhelev and the leaders of the political forces were informed about the official results.

Head of British Election Observers Briefs Zhelev

AU1810182991 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT
18 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 18 (BTA)—Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev received today Mr. Robert McCloy, leader of the British delegation of observers for the elections, and British Ambassador Richard Thomas. They familiarized him with the assessments of the elections in the reports to the British Government. According to them the elections were free and fair and were conducted in an exemplary manner. They were particularly impressed by the calmness of the Bulgarian voters who, despite some emotional outbursts in connection with the ethnic issue, promoted a better image of Bulgaria before the world. Bulgaria presented itself as a centre of peace and maturity in a region torn by conflicts and ambitions, according to the observers. Mr. McCloy

and Mr. Thomas believe the election results have opened new prospects before Bulgaria.

President Zhelev thanked the observers whose work is one of the guarantees for fair and democratic elections, which have won the confidence of the European governments and have opened Bulgaria's way to all European structures.

Consultations on New Cabinet Under Way

AU1810190991 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT
18 Oct 91

[Report by Iva Toncheva: "On the New Cabinet and the MRF"]

[Text] Sofia, October 18 (BTA)—At the moment consultations are being held on the new government. Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), told journalists today. The UDF, which won the elections, has nominated Mr. Dimitrov for prime minister. He did not give details on the composition of the new cabinet. Names of possible ministers keep appearing in the press.

The UDF will form its government and will rely on the democratic majority in parliament, said Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, another leader of the UDF. He described the democratic majority not just as a certain party's majority but also as the majority of MP's who want to replace the system. Mr. Yordanov said that journalist Vladimir Kostov of Radio Free Europe is too far from Bulgarian political life to judge. Mr. Kostov wrote in today's "24 CHASA" that under the circumstances a coalition government between the UDF and the Bulgarian ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) should be avoided in the interest of the further development of the democratic process.

The MRF does have seats in the Bulgarian parliament after the elections which none of the forces has declared undemocratic. Mr. Filip Dimitrov told a news conference today. The UDF will take its decision on the government after an assessment of the concrete situation, but both variants—a coalition government and a government of the majority, are neither more nor less democratic. Mr. Dimitrov said. According to Mr. Dimitrov, the statement that 7 percent of the MP's (the seats the MRF will have in the new parliament) can play a decisive part is addressed to people who are liable to communist propaganda. "The Bulgarian Communist Party is not the party which can claim that it is defending national interests," Mr. Dimitrov stressed. According to him, it is being claimed in strong terms that the 7 percent of the seats in parliament for the MRF will make it very influential for the sole purpose of creating the impression that in Bulgaria there is a sharp opposition on ethnic principles, but it actually does not exist.

Under the headline "The MRF May Not Take Part in the Cabinet," the socialist "DUMA" daily carries an interview with Mr. Yunal Lyutfi of the MRF. "At this

stage we will probably maintain cooperation at parliamentary level only," Mr. Lyutfi says.

However, in an interview for "TRUD" Mr. Lyutfi says today that "The MRF will take part in a firm and straight-forward parliamentary coalition with the UDF but all prerequisites for our participation in a coalition government are there." The working meeting at which the MRF representatives will express their views is forthcoming, Mr. Yunal Lyutfi says in "TRUD."

Mr. Petko Simeonov, one of the leaders who split from the UDF, described as a misunderstanding his own statement before the Greek Sky radio station that Turkish diplomats had attended a meeting of the MRF Coordinating Council. This was also denied by UDF leader Filip Dimitrov.

Ex-State Security Officer on Link to Terrorists

AU2010194691 Sofia BTA in English 1607 GMT
20 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—"I had the opportunity to meet and speak with many international terrorists," Mr. Georgi Botev, former long-serving officer of the now disbanded State Security, said in an interview on national radio. His book "The Sofia Casino Trial" was published here recently. Mr. Botev is sure that emigre writer Georgi Markov was assassinated by the Bulgarian Secret Services.

Mr. Botev mentioned Ilich Carlos, the world's number one terrorist, who used to put up at Hotel Vitosha the New Otani in Sofia. According to Mr. Botev, the terrorists visited this country with the approval and under the protection of the State Security. A portion of the profit from drug trafficking remained in Bulgaria on the accounts of the Security and Protection Department.

The staff of the Protocol of the Central Committee (CC) of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) also knew when such visitors arrived and warned the VIP Lounge staff at Sofia airport that the passport of a certain person should not be sealed at his entry. The same was done when such people left the country. Mr. Botev said that he had witnessed even more flagrant instances, when "visitors," instead of going through the VIP Lounge, would be conveyed to the plane through the fence by a car of the protocol of the CC of the BCP. Mr. Botev witnessed all this as deputy chief of the VIP Service at Sofia airport for five years.

"I am absolutely sure that Georgi Markov was assassinated, that the three executors passed through the VIP Lounge and that they were seen off and met at the airport by the Protocol of the CC of the BCP," Mr. Botev said.

According to Mr. Botev, the Bulgarian Secret Services maintained very close connections with terrorists and drug traffickers until 1985, after that things became more difficult because "Bulgaria was held under close scrutiny."

International Team Inspects Kozloduy Safety

AU1810182891 Sofia BTA in English 1714 GMT
18 Oct 91

[Text] Kozloduy, October 18 (BTA)—An international team of experts has been appointed to the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant for several months by the World Association of Nuclear Operators (WANO) to check the operation of the nuclear safety systems, train Bulgarian experts for the safe operation of the power plant, and help implement the programme for reconstruction of the older generating units. The team comprises experts from France, Germany, Scotland, the United States, the USSR and Spain.

According to Mr. Serge Detaillor of Electricite de France, head of the team, all four WWER-440 generating units are in a different condition. Special programmes should be worked out to bring each of them up to the world standards for safe exploitation. Generating unit four is in operation after the overhaul and the team is controlling the quality of exploitation and maintenance. Generating unit three is under repairs. Generating unit one will be shut down to bring it up to international standards for safe exploitation under the WANO programme.

Finance Minister on Cooperation With IMF

AU1810161691 Sofia BTA in English 1544 GMT
18 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 18 (BTA)—Bulgaria and the IMF are on the threshold of a new stage of cooperation, Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov told national radio today. Mr. Kostov is in Bangkok to attend the annual session of the IMF and the World Bank. He explained that the planned three-year structural adjustment programme came as an acknowledgement of the success of the stabilization programme which was carried out with the IMF's assistance. Medium-term aims can already be set to the Bulgarian economy, he added.

The minister of finance believes that the three-year programme will allow Bulgaria to buy hard currency from the IMF and repay part of its debts to the commercial banks.

"The IMF has not yet decided the duration of the programme for Bulgaria, but we will insist on three years," Mr. Kostov pointed out. He also said that the IMF managing director and chairman of the Executive Board, Mr. Michel Camdessus, praised the Bulgarian stabilization programme and insisted on financial aid for Bulgaria.

New Round of Constitution Talks Begin

LD1810140691 Prague CSTK in English 1239 GMT
17 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Prague, Oct 17 (CSTK)—A new round of talks on Czechoslovakia's state setup, drafting new federal, Czech and Slovak constitutions and power-sharing between the federation and the two republics, was called by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel at Karlovy Vary, a spa in Western Bohemia, today.

The talks are held between the supreme constitutional officials of the federation and the two constituent republics for the eighth time. The previous seven meetings were held this year. [passage omitted]

Havel said he will sign the screening law, passed by the Czechoslovak parliament October 4, after he receives it with the signatures of Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek and Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa. Havel said he does not want to hold up the law and delay its amendment.

Havel presented to Dubcek a letter with a draft amendment to the screening law which bars former secret police (StB) agents and collaborators, communist party officials and people's militia members from leading state posts for five years.

Havel said the law is based on the principle of collective guilt and, in some cases, it considerably limits or even excludes the right of appeal and the consideration of individual responsibility.

Calfa Views Progress

LD2010140491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The highest constitutional officials of the Czechoslovak Federation and of both national republics met in Karlovy Vary today. Jaroslav Fykar and Stanislav Benda report now on this important meeting:

[Fykar] The meeting has not yet ended. [passage omitted] While discussion on the powers with which both republics are to be vested was on the agenda this afternoon, earlier this morning, those taking part discussed the sequence of steps that will lead to the drafting and adoption of the treaty between both republics that, as the president said during a break, is the key to all three constitutions. Talks lasting nearly seven hours have been taking place here behind closed doors in one of the government's residences, and journalists have had to rely on reports made available by the Federal Government and presidential press spokesmen. It has emerged that today's meeting is to be followed by talks next week between the presidia of both National Councils, at which a draft treaty between both republics should already be discussed.

The Slovak side has so far accepted the following three points: a common foreign policy, common defense of the state, and a common currency. Shortly before 1700, we

learned that the talks have become deadlocked because of a dispute about economic powers. During a break to calm things down, Prime Minister Marian Calfa addressed journalists:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified journalist] Prime minister, journalists gathered here have been waiting for a promised briefing for the past one and a half hours. What is the situation now, at 1700, during this break?

[Calfa] I would like to say that our talks have been very intense and have concentrated on the material at hand, and this is why we have come to the conclusion that we will only provide information when we reach some firm conclusions in our talks. You know that we held discussions until lunchtime with the participation of President Havel. We are now conducting the discussions by ourselves. The discussions have been chaired by me from the very beginning. We are seeking a path that will lead to a future treaty between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council regarding the scope of powers that the federation will have.

We have reached certain conclusions, and I would like to mention them to you. We have proceeded from the idea of a state structure. We did not talk specifically about Czechoslovakia; we did not talk about a federation. We have simply proceeded from the basis of how a state is defined and from what kind of powers it generally has throughout the world. We are proceeding from the premise that a state is, in fact, defined by three factors: its territory, its sovereignty, and its citizens. Proceeding from this, we have reached the conclusion that, as far as its territory is concerned, yes, we are dealing with the idea of a common state whose territory comprises, as before, the territory of the Czech Republic and the territory of the Slovak Republic; that this state is identifiable externally by its borders; that living in it are citizens of the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic who, at the same time, are citizens of the common state, which today is the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, and, therefore, that we have a single citizenship, which is the second aspect of this state. The third aspect is sovereignty, which is projected into certain elements of power: legislative, executive, and judiciary.

We have come to the conclusion that the proposal to establish a federal legislative body will be included in the treaty. It would be elected directly by the citizens and would also guarantee the principle of parity to ensure that one nation cannot dominate the other one. We have agreed on the existence of a federal judiciary. In this respect, we are proceeding from those duties that the judiciary could discharge, i.e. a constitutional element. A constitutional judiciary, an element of administrative judiciary, an element of military penal judiciary, should also exist, as well as an element responsible for the interpretation of laws throughout the territory of the state.

Afterwards, we arrived at discussions on the executive branch that, naturally, proved to be the most complex

matter since it involved a certain division of powers. In discussing these matters, we reached certain conclusions. I ask you to understand that what we achieved was, in effect, the identification of those issues about which we all hold identical views. The representatives of the National Councils, chairmen of the National Councils who are present here, will have to take these conclusions to the presidia of the National Councils, which will meet next Monday. They will have to analyze the whole package because a joint meeting of both presidia will be held next Tuesday and Wednesday, where the whole package will then be the subject of some discussion.

We did not have any observation to make about foreign affairs, defense, money, the bank of issue, customs, protection of the federal Constitution, criminal policy, federal security, federal criminal acts, the federal budget, administration of its revenues and expenditures at the federal level, and, naturally, we envisage that legislation to be adopted by the Federal Assembly will also be at the federal level.

There was not 100 percent agreement, however. Certain differing views were held on how to organize the protection and administration of state borders, matters concerning state citizenship and infrastructure, i.e. posts, communications, railways, and the transport network in general. In this case, the meeting proceeded clearly from the premise that, although these are elements that belong to the understanding of what a federative state is, there is still the question of whether an independent system of federative bodies should be established for the execution of these elements. At the federal level, we proceed from the view that it would be logical for these to be federal matters, that they should be handled by the federation. Views were also aired that this matter could be resolved through some kind of coordination, by a joint procedure of the republican bodies on the basis of federal legislation that would ensure uniformity.

In the afternoon, we began to discuss the division of powers in the economic sphere, and we arrived at the conclusion that we should take a break in these talks because we have been engaged in talks since the morning. We took a 30 minute break and will return to these matters again today. At issue, first and foremost, is which economic issues should be under the auspices of the federation. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Slovak Legislators Consider State Treaty 18 Oct

LD2010174491 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Oct 91

[News conference by Ivan Carnogursky, Slovak National Council deputy chairman, with unidentified correspondents after talks between representatives of Slovak legislative parties on a draft state treaty in Papiernicka on 18 October—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] What is the outcome of your current work? What have you completed? What is the composition of political forces?

[Carnogursky] We have completed entirely the draft state treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Of course, some aspects of the treaty have an alternative formulation. Nevertheless, I believe that, in principle, the treaty encapsulates both the sovereignty of the republics, their willingness, and the possibility of forming a common state. The draft contains alternative formulations about a common legislative body, executive bodies of powers, and other bodies of a common state, and the final provisions talk about the need for the republic's legislative bodies to ratify the constitution of the common state. Throughout the text, there appears the title, the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, and, alternatively, in brackets, we have included the name Czechoslovakia.

[Correspondent] You said today that, should the presidia of the National Councils fail to come to an agreement, one could start considering a split?

[Carnogursky] Certainly, should the National Councils fail to agree on the treaty and on such a formulation of mutual ties in a common state, this would apparently imply a referendum and a split, but I believe that this will not happen.

[Correspondent] I have already asked about the composition of political forces in regard to what you have drawn up.

[Carnogursky] I can say that, apart from the representatives of three parties—the Movement for Democratic Slovak, the Slovak National Party, and only one deputy—Brnak—who does not represent his party in the Slovak National Council—all other members have agreed on the joint text. These two political groupings are putting forward an alternative that envisages the functioning of two republics more or less in parallel with each other.

[Correspondent] Does the document adopted envisage that the treaty should have priority over the constitution?

[Carnogursky] We have succeeded in solving this problem constitutionally and very cleanly. We say in the draft that all legislative and other measures the republics will issue must be in line with the treaty. This means that all that has been, is, and will be—be it before or after—must be harmonized with the treaty.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that you have dropped the model of a pure Slovak constitution?

[Carnogursky] The pure Slovak constitution is a different matter. I reported on the constitution at the meeting a week ago. Our commission has now completed the ninth chapter of the Slovak constitution. This chapter forms an interlink between the draft constitution of the Slovak Republic, through the treaty, and the Federal constitution and Federal Government.

[Correspondent] With what risks did you enter these talks? What risks did you want to avoid?

[Carnogursky] The first risk was to ensure that work on these documents was conducted in a constructive spirit and not from the position of coalition versus opposition. This would not have been a good thing, because we would have achieved nothing. I believe that all deputies have realized this because it will be neither the coalition nor the opposition who will have the final say. It will be 150 Slovak National Council deputies who, through their votes, will have this final word.

[Correspondent] Will the Slovak National Council plenum discuss what you have agreed upon here in Papernicka?

[Carnogursky] We would like now to submit the draft to the clubs of deputies for their comment, because these ten representatives who have been working here represented deputies' clubs. If the deputies' clubs confirm, in essence, the result of the work of their representatives, the whole material will then be submitted immediately for a public debate. It would be published. The public, bodies, and individuals will have the opportunity to comment on it. Then, after a certain lapse of time, we would sum up all these observations; of course, we would also attempt to evaluate them. The whole document would then go immediately to the committees of the Slovak National Council, which would then finally draw up the text, paragraph by paragraph.

[Correspondent] The Slovak National Council Presidium will meet on Monday and will decide what will be submitted at the joint meeting of the presidia of both Councils next Tuesday and Wednesday near Prague.

[Carnogursky] I envisage that we will submit at that meeting the material we have drawn up today, since the Presidium, if you realize it, is in fact composed of the coalition deputies, although there are four representatives of opposition parties in it. The Presidium, in effect, cannot deny or negate the outcome of the work of the whole spectrum of the Slovak National Council.

[Correspondent] Are you saying, in effect, that there do not exist big differences in the variants?

[Carnogursky] I would not say so at all. These are fundamental variants. Either the variant of the whole constitution will be adopted—including chapter nine—or the variant will be adopted in which individual issues would be incorporated directly in chapters. Otherwise, there are no differences as far as the content is concerned.

[Correspondent] The Czech National Council has submitted its draft. Is the draft drawn up by this commission open and does it provide a scope for seeking mutual agreement? Or will there have to be a choice made between the two drafts?

[Carnogursky] We have information and material from the meeting held in Karlovy Vary yesterday, which was attended by the Czech prime minister, the speaker of the Czech National Council, and representatives of Federal bodies. I have already said that these documents do not

differ from the materials we have drawn up. Therefore, I do not see any reason why we should not proceed constructively.

[Correspondent] Do you have an idea when the matter will come before the Slovak National Council plenum, after public debate, of course, and also after it goes through the committees?

[Carnogursky] We are in the middle of October; therefore, I envisage that it could be at the beginning of December.

Government Approves Agricultural, Food Policy

LD1810215891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Milan Cervenka report on the Federal Government session in Prague on 14 October]

[Excerpt] The awaited draft of the government's policy on the agricultural and food industry was approved today at the government session, where both republic ministers [of Agriculture], Bohumil Kubat and Jozef Krsek, were present. At a news conference, delayed by two hours because of the complexity of the deliberations, the federal minister of economy joined the two ministers to brief journalists. He talked about the agreement reached on a common nationwide agricultural policy, common food market, protection of the market, and a common policy of subsidies, common price fixing, taxes and loans. The draft also provides for the fact that only 40 percent of agricultural production will produce above zero and zero profit. According to the government's resolution, the market regulatory fund will come into force throughout the entire Czech and Slovak Federative Republic from 1 January 1992, while republic market funds will exist to cover regional requirements.

The present task of the government, together with the republic governments, is to quantify, within ten days, the income situation in agriculture, submit specific measures on what kind of assistance should be rendered and on who should receive it in order to overcome economic difficulties. The lowering of the turnover tax and of the levies from wages and other measures are envisaged. The Federal Government will publish the principles of the farm policy for the rural public within ten days.

If I were to describe the atmosphere at today's government session or at the news conference, I would say that the government was satisfied with the adopted draft of federal policy principles. [passage omitted]

Klaus Criticizes Protectionism at IMF Meeting

AU1810155891 Prague CSTK in English 2139 GMT
16 Oct 91

[Text] Bangkok Oct 16 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus today said financial assistance cannot compensate Czechoslovakia

for the problems caused to it by the protectionist measures applied in trade by the West.

Klaus was speaking at a session of the World Bank—International Monetary Fund (IMF) annual meeting here. Speaking about Czechoslovakia's economic reforms, of which he is the main architect, Klaus said the first stage of price liberalization (started in January) and currency stabilization has been successful. But there are also problems, including an 18 percent decrease in industrial output in the first nine months of this year and a 5.6 percent unemployment.

Czechoslovakia has not yet reached the "day of transformation." Production will continue to decline, resulting in further increase in unemployment next year, Klaus said. This is due mainly to the loss of traditional markets in the Soviet Union and the former Eastern bloc caused by the collapse of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and unification of Germany, Klaus went on to say. He pointed out the problems could be eased if Western Europe and other countries let more Czechoslovak goods to its markets.

Czechoslovak producers find it most difficult to shift their exports from uncompetitive to Western markets, and to overcome artificial trade barriers, Klaus said. He voiced the hope that talks on Czechoslovakia's association with the European Community will be completed soon. He stressed financial assistance cannot level off the problems caused to Czechoslovakia by Western protectionist measures.

Also today, Klaus and Thai Foreign Minister Asa Sarasins signed an agreement on the protection and promotion of investment.

Klaus also met with British Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont and President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Jacques Attali.

Police Arrest Five Attempting To Trade Semtex

AU1810113091 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] In the past few hours, officers from the Federal Criminal Police Force in Ostrava have carried out two significant operations against organized crime. Two criminal gangs, operating independently of each other, were taken into custody in North Moravia today. In the first incident, more than a kilogram of hashish was discovered; this is the largest amount ever found at once in our country. In the second operation, carried out against five armed men in Opava, the police uncovered 20 kilograms of the Semtex explosive. A total of eight people are now behind bars in Ostrava in connection with these serious criminal acts. The investigation into both incidents is continuing.

Public Against Violence Movement Becomes Party

LD1910214991 Prague CSTK in English 1921 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Bratislava Oct 19 (CSTK)—The National Congress of the Slovak Public Against Violence (VPN) Movement at Poprad, the High Tatras, today decided the Movement would become a party named Civic Democratic Union-VPN (ODU-VPN).

Jozef Kucerak, the chairman of the VPN Slovak Council, told the congress at its opening that the VPN wants to become a modern party espousing the classical principles of liberalism and defending human liberties.

The VPN intends to become the first party in Slovakia seeking to overcome nationalist seclusion, to build upon the values uniting people on the principles of private ownership and freedom of the individual, Kucerak said.

He said the VPN pursues coexistence with the Czechs, based on a federation, stressing that all problems in Czech-Slovak relations should be settled by legal means—by talks and agreements. He said the VPN sees the efforts of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) at a declaration of a full Slovak Constitution (not coordinated with the Federal and Czech Constitutions) as an adventure. The VPN regards a referendum as the only way of how the people can express their wish on issues of constitutional arrangement, he said.

The VPN was formed in November 1989 as the sister movement of the Civic Forum in the Czech Republic and won the June 1990 parliamentary elections. Last March, part of the Movement's former supporters split to form the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), led by former Slovak premier Vladimir Meciar.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Yugoslavia*LD1810232491 Budapest MTI in English 2151 GMT
18 Oct 91*

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—The Republic of Hungary follows the increased gaining ground of the military factors along Hungary's southern borders with profound anxiety. The ever more aggressive destruction that claims more and more victims and causes inestimable damage to the common cultural heritage of humanity is particularly shocking. The attacks against Osijek and Dubrovnik, and other settlements, are now mainly aimed against civilian and industrial facilities, and serve to instill fear in the civilian population and the various groups of people, and to change the ethnic proportions with forcible means.

Starting out from the fact that the Yugoslav crisis seriously destabilizes the region and Europe, and that its negative effects concern the entire international community in this situation, the Hungarian side attaches major importance to a unified and firm stand. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry supports the acceptance of responsibility by the European communities, the United States, the Soviet Union and other states in the process of the Yugoslav settlement.

A democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis would serve as model for settling other problems of the region, and would considerably contribute to intensifying democratic values, the influence of the forces committed to respecting human and minority rights, and the elements of stability.

In the current situation, the Republic of Hungary considers it an important task to immediately put an end to the war and the armed actions, to prevent the spread of these to other regions of Yugoslavia, and to create solutions through which an effective ceasefire, and the international control of such, could be ensured.

The Republic of Hungary believes that positions acquired through forcible actions, including the unilateral changing of Yugoslavia's internal borders through the use of force, are unacceptable and should be considered as null and void.

Hungary considers it necessary to restore lawfulness and law and order, to ensure the lawful operation of the constitutional bodies, to subordinate the various political efforts to the priority of law, to create political control over the armed forces, and to immediately stop the ongoing mobilization.

The Republic of Hungary supports the idea of continuing the Yugoslavia conference in The Hague. It supports an agreement based on political talks and concerning the future and internal borders of Yugoslavia, the rights of the national and ethnic minorities living in Yugoslavia, and the guarantees of this.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry notes that the disordered situation of the national minorities, the violation

of the human and minority rights perpetuates tension, increases instability, and prevents the emergence of lasting solutions. It would thus be an historical mistake to decide about their future without consulting them, and without their participation.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry most firmly condemns the atrocities against the Hungarians in Croatia, as a consequence of which two-thirds of the ethnic Hungarian population has been forced to flee its homeland. It holds as unacceptable to forcibly change the ethnic proportions of the population. It supports their just demand to safely return to their places of residence, and to be given back their possessions.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry considers as constructive the proposals of the democratic community of Hungarians in Vojvodina, which are aimed at seeking a solution to the problems of the Hungarians living in Vojvodina through negotiations. It notes the responsibility of the political factors in intensifying social tolerance and understanding towards the minorities.

The Republic of Hungary, as a state directly concerned in the democratic settlement, will continue to strive to carry out a balanced and constructive policy, to intensify the peace process through its direct relations maintained with the sides concerned in the crisis, and to develop mutually advantageous cooperation by taking the given possibilities and the realities into consideration.

Responds to SFRY Protest*LD1910032991 Budapest MTI in English 2253 GMT
18 Oct 91*

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—Istvan Oszi, the Hungarian ambassador to Belgrade, was summoned to the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry. The Yugoslav federal deputy foreign minister lodged a protest in view of the fact that the Hungarian Foreign Ministry had "issued a document on the Yugoslav political and ethnic clashes."

Janos Herman, spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, noted in connection with this Yugoslav diplomatic step that Hungary had won extensive international appreciation with its patient and sober conduct shown throughout the Yugoslav crisis. Some 40,000 people have fled to Hungary to escape the fighting and persecution. An army that is impossible to control amidst constitutional frameworks is destroying towns and villages in Yugoslavia.

In a situation of this kind, it is natural for the countries concerned in resolving the crisis to examine the possibilities of a settlement in expert analyses, the spokesman added. A study of this kind on the Yugoslav developments, a so-called "non-paper," was forwarded to several countries through diplomatic channels. It was clear that the analysis was not the official Hungarian position, Herman said.

"We sincerely regret that this was brought up to the Hungarian ambassador in Belgrade in such a sharp tone

that is unusual in the diplomatic practice, while the airspace of the Republic of Hungary has been violated on 18 occasions from June 28 to the present, and while mines have most recently been laid in the direct vicinity of the Hungarian border," he said.

The spokesman went on to note that the official position of the Hungarian Government on the Yugoslav issue, presented in the speech of the foreign minister to the National Assembly and the statement of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry issued on Friday evening, fully coincides with the efforts of other states and the European Communities aimed at brining about peace, and serves a democratic solution through negotiations.

With respect to the recurring accusation regarding the delivery of weapons, that is completely groundless. The Hungarian side can only, and again, emphatically repeat that it awaits "evidence" of this, said Janos Herman, spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, on Friday evening.

Guard Protests Mine Explosions

*LD1910134791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] The Hungarian Border Guard has lodged a protest with Yugoslavia because two of the mines laid at the beginning of last week have exploded. Spokesman Janos Zubek said that the rim of one of the shell craters touched Hungarian territory. For the time being, the Hungarian Border Guard have banned agricultural activity on the border stretch where there is a Yugoslav minefield.

Antall Addresses MDF on Foreign Policy Issues

*LD2010223891 Budapest MTI in English 1958 GMT
20 Oct 91*

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—"Hungary has never strived to change its borders by force. At the same time, protecting the minorities is one of the key elements of Hungarian foreign policy, which faces the Hungarian leadership, mindful of international norms, with responsibilities both inside and beyond the borders," Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said at the conference of the heads of 842 local organizations of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF—MDF in Hungarian] in Budapest on Sunday.

The agenda of the meeting included questions relating to the preparations for party's 5th congress to be held in December.

Details of the prime minister's speech were revealed to journalists at the HDF headquarters in the afternoon.

In his address, which lasted nearly one and a half hours, the prime minister pointed out that the quick collapse of communism had apparently reached the world unprepared, as the West, furnished to keep balance, has no adequate script for the handling of political changes.

This has been particularly evident in the affair of the Yugoslavian conflict. On this score, Jozsef Antall drew a parallel between the 1956 Hungarian revolution and war of independence, and the Yugoslavian crisis insofar as the world factors did not excel in the satisfactory settlement of either.

Hungary faces the extraordinary responsibility of keeping an eye on the fate of the about 500,000 Hungarians living in the Vojvodina, who are treated almost as hostages by the nationalist Serbian leadership. This is backed up by the fact that they figure on the casualty list of the war in far superior numbers than justified by their ethnic proportion. According to certain data, the Hungarians of Vojvodina account for 20 per cent of the victims.

Thanks to Hungarian foreign policy, the country's independence and sovereignty have been restored. Hungary receives no instructions from any alien powers, and would not be ready to accept such.

Turning to home policy questions, the prime minister stated that there will be no collective calling to account in Hungary. Those who committed offences or crimes have to be treated by the means of the law. However, the main goal in mind should be economic prosperity.

With regard to the Expo, the prime minister stressed that the government had not withdrawn the related bill, but added that there can be no Expo without the active participation of Budapest.

Soviet Interest in Abandoned Installations Viewed

*LD2010152191 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 17 Oct 91*

[Text] Defense Minister Dr. Lajos Fur, regarding a legislative inquiry rejected earlier, has now informed National Assembly Economic Committee deputies that the Soviet side would have liked to use the installations left behind as marketable, valuable assets for the creation of companies. The Hungarian side would have supported this effort in order to halt further destruction of the already returned installations. However, creating a joint stock company became impossible after measuring the serious ecological damage and noting Hungarians claims. The acting director of (Mazovker) alluded, with justification, to a nonexistent governmental committee decision and to the commercial installations having become theirs. The modified answer was adopted by the committee.

Minister Says Ties With KGB Still 'Necessary'

*LD2010170391 Budapest MTI in Hungarian
1815 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] Budapest, Oct 19 (MTI)—During a conference in Austria, KGB's new general vice-president requested the head of the Hungarian national security organizations,

Minister Without Portfolio Andras Galszecszy, not to break off relations with the successor organizations of the KGB.

Galszecszy reported this at a political rally organized by the European presidium of the World Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters jointly with the local organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum in Ajka on Saturday.

The minister said that the Austrian conference had been convened by the Austrian minister of the interior for the discussion of questions related to the region's security, including border defence, customs affairs and international crime.

Andras Galszecszy expressed his conviction that cooperation with KGB's successor organizations in anti-terrorist actions and organized crime prevention will continue to be necessary.

With regard to publication of the names of secret agents from the professional point of view, Galszecszy pointed out that parliament will have to give a very clearcut guidance as to how far the investigation may go. He said he disapproved of searching for such data in the files of the legal predecessors of today's secret service, because in this case the next government might also want to know who were secret agents under the former regime. It has to be accepted, he said, that nowhere in the world can crime prevention, counter-espionage and intelligence service exist without agents.

Antall: No Personnel Changes in Government

LD2010220491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Excerpts] At a political mass rally in Karcag, Jozsef Antall stressed the stability of the cabinet and the government coalition. Agoston Palreti reports:

[Palreti] [passage omitted] Analyzing the coalition government's work on its economic direction, Jozsef Antall stressed that the nation's economy is not in chaos. Privatization is progressing, and it is doing so slowly because we cannot squander in a few days what the country has accumulated. Our foreign currency reserves have grown threefold; by the end of the year, they will reach \$3 billion. Among the countries of the region, we are the one in which

international capital has the greatest confidence. It is true that unemployment is growing, that the principle is not everywhere asserted that we should produce only what we can sell, and that those who invest the capital that comes into our country do not always want to invest their profits in our country. [passage omitted]

Jozsef Antall said that the collective calling to account of the former leading communist cadres is contrary to European constitutionality. The demand for historical justice, on the other hand, is just, but it has to be carried out in such a way that it should not endanger the country's ability to function.

Personnel changes within the government are unjustifiable during the current budget period. They will not take place, and neither will the dismissal of Interior Minister Peter Boross.

Coalition Parties Agree on Further Cooperation

LD1810210591 Budapest MTI in English 1517 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—The following press release was issued in Budapest on Friday:

"The delegations from the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party today continued coalition talks started on October 11. The discussion covered questions relating to the administration of justice, and resulted in agreeing that all steps that comply with the Constitution and the law should be taken without delay towards this end. There was also agreement that the principle of collective responsibility must not be applied in any form. It was decided the three faction heads would work out a detailed scheme of the principles of a legal administration of justice.

"The negotiating partners agreed to organize an international scientific conference for the discussion of the question.

"The sides agreed on the necessity of improving coalition co-operation at local level as well, because the common goal of changing system can only be attained through the comprehensive co-operation of the coalition parties throughout the election cycle."

Bielecki Addresses Sejm on German Treaty

*LD1810135391 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 0811 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Speech by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to the Sejm in Warsaw to open debate on the ratification of the Polish-German treaty on good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation signed in Bonn on 17 June—iive]

[Text] Mr. Speaker:

If it pleases the House, today we will debate an historic document, a treaty on good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation between Poland and the united Germany, an important document not just for our two countries but for all of Europe, a document that opens up new prospects for bilateral relations and gives a new dimension to integration processes on our continent.

On 17 June, during the treaty signing ceremony in Bonn, I said to Chancellor Kohl that it was no coincidence that the real normalization in Polish-German relations had taken on a new quality in the historic year of 1989. The united Germany treaty, confirming the border, and the general treaty are both expressions of the conscious will of both states, United Germany and Poland, which is reforming herself, decided to show themselves and the world how conflicts from the past should be resolved and the future should be created. Without the victory of Solidarity in Poland and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, this historic agreement would not even have been possible.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Deputies, for two years Poland has been consistently rediscovering a new place in Europe. Our strategic aim is integration with the European Community and participation in a new European security system. Our political road is marked by the conclusion of successive treaties and agreements with France, Italy, and Great Britain. Our political aims are marked out by the development of regional ties with our closest neighbors, the Czechs and Slovaks and Hungary. We are building relations on new foundations with our eastern neighbors, with Lithuania, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Russia, and the Soviet Union.

The post-Yalta order is behind us. The sharp division of the world and the fiction of internationalist military treaties allowing the domination of one power are behind us. Pent-up anger, mutual prejudice, and nationalistic stereotypes were hidden behind these unreal political alliances. The painful experiences of World War II, full of bitterness, are behind us. It is difficult to forget them, but by no means can we live only in the past. One must know how to live with the past, even at its most painful and most tragic, and we must know how to draw conclusions from it for the future.

This very treaty establishes new legal and political structures but to no lesser degree also serves as a moral guardian, the foundation of a permanent agreement between Poles and Germans. In the long history of

Polish-German neighborliness, the Poles and Germans have not been so close to each other for a long time, have not looked with such trust into the future. This is the result of the deep awareness that it is difficult to think about a unified Europe without good neighborliness between Poland and Germany, without a clearly understood community of Polish and German interests. I believe—I often say this—that Poland's path to integration with the European communities leads right through Germany. The European character of the treaty is expressed in this thought, and in the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany is pledging to support the strategic aim of our policy, which is precisely to enter the European Community. That is also why relations with the Germans have a strategic rather than an opportunistic significance for Poland.

United Germany is the biggest partner for Poland in all spheres of cooperation in the process of the political and economic rapprochement of Poland with the family of democratic countries.

If it pleases the House, rapprochement between our two nations, and at the same time rapprochement with Europe, is achieved through respect and mutual recognition of national minority rights. Our common philosophy here is to adhere without reservation to recognized international standards, not to employ special solutions that would apply only to Polish-German relations, as was the case in the interwar period. Other minorities currently living in Poland are entitled to the same rights and duties that the treaty grants to the German minority. The treaty grants the same rights to Poles in Germany. Our common choice is equal adherence to rights and duties for the sake of agreement and reconciliation. After all, it is stressed in the treaty that minorities are a bridge between nations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Deputies, the real value of every treaty is measured by its application. Even the best agreements are beautiful but are lifeless words if they are not given life. I am an optimist here. This treaty is already becoming a reality, because interstate treaties on environmental protection, Polish-German youth cooperation, and regional cooperation, including in the border regions, have been concluded alongside it. We are already cooperating in the modernization and development of border crossings. We are developing economic cooperation. Together we are fighting organized crime. We will be participating to a greater degree in the international flow of goods, capital, and services.

But the permanence of friendly ties is created through direct contacts between people. These are becoming possible and are being created on the basis of entirely new principles today. This is most visibly and most intensely experienced by the young, and full Polish-German reconciliation will depend on them. If it pleases the House, for the first time since the war, we are heading in the right direction, from a system based on force and utopia to a democracy and a healthy economic order. We are on the difficult road of reform, reaching

deep into all spheres of life. This is a road defined by the basic values of European civilization. We are building a democratic political system and a market economy on the foundations of political and economic freedom. There can be no turning back from these deep transformations.

I believe that, despite all the difficulties, we are creating a normal state and normal social, economic, and political relations. The rule that marked out the path taken two years ago is the European rule. We are an important part of Europe, and we want to be a recognized and respected partner. That is our future, and all work and agreements that bring us closer to this should be seen in that light.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Deputies, the process begun two years ago under the government of my predecessor, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is coming to a favorable conclusion.

I strongly believe that we are witnesses, as well as participants, in a great historic breakthrough. For the first time in contemporary history, Poles and Germans have succeeded in establishing a joint stance on so many fundamental issues, without concessions being made by either side. For the first time, both states have endeavored in a legal form to express everything that unites. This became possible because of the changes of the last two years, which have brought Poles sovereignty and freedom and the German state unification, changes initiated by Solidarity. I am convinced that the treaty of good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation is opening a new stage in the history of Poland, Germany, and all of Europe. [applause]

Sejm Ratifies Treaties

*LD2010165991 Warsaw PAP in English 2338 GMT
18 Oct 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 18—The Sejm (Lower House) ratified Friday the Polish-German border and friendship treaties with an overwhelming majority of votes as historic acts providing political and legal grounds for a peaceful coexistence of the Polish and German nations in the era of profound changes in Europe.

The treaties put an end to any territorial claims and guarantee unconditional respect by the united Germany of Poland's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The deputies stressed that both documents are a source of hope for a good future of both nations.

The Sejm, however, regretted that the treaties do not fully regulate the question of compensations for Polish slave labourers wronged by the 3rd Reich. One of the deputies even called the treaty on good neighbourliness "one of the most unfortunate documents in Polish history" when it is evaluated from the viewpoint of ordinary social justice. Another deputy called the 500

million Deutsche marks granted by Bonn to Nazi survivors a "pittance" and proposed separate Polish-German talks on this question.

The deputies also indicated that since the treaty includes passages regulating the status of the German minority in Poland but does not mention the Polish minority in Germany, it automatically grants special position to the German population in Poland.

Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was visiting the central town of Lodz on Friday praised the treaties and warned against confusing the claims made by various groups in Germany and the German nation as a whole, which overwhelmingly supported the ratification of the treaties by the Bundestag.

Skubiszewski on German Ratification

*LD1810235891 Warsaw PAP in English 1906 GMT
18 Oct 91*

[Text] Beijing, Oct. 18—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, now on an official visit to the People's Republic of China, told PAP here Friday that the fact that the Bundestag ratified the Polish-German treaty on good neighbourly relations and friendly cooperation and a border treaty did not surprise him as from the very beginning the two treaties enjoyed support of a majority of the German people and this support was manifested by the Bundestag decision.

The Polish minister also said it was a historic event in Polish-German relations that the two treaties were coming into force and stressed the role played by federal chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher in the entire process.

"Poland and Germany are situated in the heart of Europe and they not only must but also want to cooperate with each other. This cooperation must cover all fields, from great world and European political affairs to regional and local ones," Krzysztof Skubiszewski said.

The Polish Foreign Minister opined that mistaken were those who said in the past that one should not pay so much attention to Polish-German relations as the two Solidarity governments did because everything had already been settled in these relations. "There was much to be done and in the last two years the Polish and German governments did a lot and now we have this positive result," Krzysztof Skubiszewski stressed.

When asked about the German government's decision to pay damages to Polish forced labourers in the 3rd Reich, Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that the Polish side could not get anything more at the moment.

"Such is the situation now. The time for seeking damages ended years ago... There were occasions in the past which were either not used or lost due to the course of events in our part of Europe," he said and added this was a maximum the Polish side could get at present.

Sejm Passes Amendments to Pension Law

LD2010170591 Warsaw PAP in English 2318 GMT
18 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 18—Sejm (Lower House) Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz officially confirmed Friday the adoption of the senate-prepared amendments to the law on old-age and disability pensions, voted on Thursday, thus practically reversing its earlier stand opposing the solutions contained in the government draft of the law.

Under the new law, to stay in force till the end of 1993 when a general reform of the pension system is prepared, a pension will be made up of 24 percent of the average national wage plus 1.3 percent of a pensioner's individual pay for every year of employment.

The law will curtail the highest pensions and raise the lowest ones, thus adjusting payments to budgetary capacities.

It is estimated that 3.7 million pensioners will receive higher benefits as a result of the adoption of the law, while 2.4 million will lose, and another 1 million will not be affected either way.

The adoption of the law brings relief to the government which for several months now has unsuccessfully tried to correct the existing disparities in the old age benefits and avoid a massive budget deficit.

The Sejm rejected a draft of a constitutional law prepared by the Sejm's Constitutional Committee which aimed at redefining and clarifying the relations between the legislative and the executive branches of power in Poland. Most of the deputies were of the opinion that the outgoing Parliament should not tie the hands of its successor.

However, the chamber introduced one change to the constitution concerning the right to political asylum in Poland. It scrapped the existing wording of a respective article, replacing it with the following formulation: "Citizens of foreign states and stateless persons may avail themselves of the right to asylum in accordance with rules to be laid down in a Sejm act."

The Sejm also rejected a draft law on honorary senators that would allow granting such titles to persons merited for Poland but living abroad.

The plenary meeting of the Sejm will continue on Saturday. Among other topics, the debate will focus on the Sejm's assessment of the privatisation programme and its implementation by the government in 1991.

Meanwhile, on Friday the Statutory Committee of the Sejm suspended proceedings leading to stripping some of the deputies of their immunity from penal prosecution. The reason given was the approaching end of the Sejm term. One of the deputies involved was head of the citizens parliamentary floor group, Mieczyslaw Gil, sued for slander by two left-wing MP's after he charged them with having contacts with leaders of the abortive coup in the Soviet Union last August.

USSR Envoy: Some Troops To Remain Until '93

LD1810205891 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT
18 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 18—Soviet Ambassador to Poland Yury Kashlev has hinted that only a part of Soviet strike forces will be withdrawn from Poland till the end of 1992 and that a considerable part will remain in Poland in 1993.

The Soviet ambassador said in an interview for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA that basic strike forces of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army should be withdrawn till the end of 1992. A considerable part should remain in Poland in 1993 to secure transit and to fulfil other tasks connected with the liquidation of the northern group.

Kashlev stressed that the Soviet Ministries of National Defence and Foreign Affairs had the same stance on the issue which the Soviet Union would defend during the talks with Poland.

The ambassador said he hoped the Polish side would understand Soviet concern which was caused not by anti-Polish moods but by purely social and humanitarian matters.

Yury Kashlev also added the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland has a significant place in bilateral relations but so far the two sides have not reached full mutual understanding. Of key significance is not only the date of the withdrawal but also the huge property of the Soviet Northern Group which the Soviet Army cannot simply leave behind. A compromise requires wise steps from the two sides, Kashlev said.

Candidate Zbigniew Bujak Views Election Issues

PM2110091591 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE
in Polish 12-13 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the Democratic Social Movement and candidate Sejm deputy, by correspondent Piotr Motas; place and date not given]

[Text] [Motas] The Democratic Social Movement was registered as a political party in April this year. It is headed by Zbigniew Bujak, the living legend of the Solidarity trade union movement and—subsequently—joint architect of the Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action [ROAD] group. At that later point, the political paths of the two previously close collaborators or, rather, friends—that is, Zbigniew Bujak and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk—went in separate directions. Mr. Bujak, it is common knowledge that you have kept your friendship with Frasyniuk, whereas other former friends and allies are frequently at one another's throats these days—often in public. Are your continued cordial relations just a matter of personal culture and tactfulness?

[Bujak] We developed close bonds of friendship through the shared experience of martial law and our work in the political underground. Just as many frontline friendships have stood the test of time over the nearly 50 years since the war, we also proved the validity of our alliance. After all, it was not so long ago.... Although each of us is fighting the election from a different political platform, and although we are, in effect, in competition with each other, I must state that Wladek [Frasyniuk] still promotes many of the ideals originally proclaimed by Solidarity—and certainly those that represented that movement's most essential and finest principles.

[Motas] You stepped onto the political stage of the election campaign with the words: "I apologize for Solidarity!" Your colleague and rival did not risk making a similar apology. And it must be said that your apology astounded and shocked a great many people.

[Bujak] Well, I do feel responsible—maybe jointly responsible—for what has happened to the Polish economy, agriculture, industry, even the handicrafts sector.... At the time when we were setting up ROAD together with Wladek, I was convinced that we would be able to jointly formulate a program that would save both the Polish economy and Polish national assets. My conviction was rooted in the belief that there are people in Poland—also outside Solidarity—who would be capable of preparing an alternative and a feasible economic program. Unfortunately, my colleagues in ROAD, and later in the Democratic Union, did not share my conviction. It is a pity they did not! Consequently, we concluded that it was time to go our separate ways.

[Motas] You said, at one time, that the present authorities, deriving as they do from Solidarity circles, are for the most part competent—thanks to the solid education they received—and are generally full of goodwill and good intentions. Nevertheless, the public has been disappointed once again in its expectations of improved living standards. Are you and your team proposing any recipes in your program for better management of the state's affairs?

[Bujak] I believe, as I have always believed, that academic knowledge is indeed of some help, but—as practice invariably demonstrates—it does not always suffice to ensure good and efficient management. A professional academic, even the best in his class, does not necessarily make a good professional politician. We prepared our program, not only as a collection of general slogans, but also as a specific, detailed plan of action. Our proposals are full of concrete recommendations. For example, we suggested that these sectors be streamlined into one ministry of the national economy: industry, commerce, and the sector of ownership transformations. Such a move should simplify the mechanics of management very considerably, and thus make it more effective. The liberals were very quick to take up this idea and to place it in their own program. We do not mind! We just hope that it is used to the best advantage of the Polish national economy.

[Motas] Many enterprises in Poland are now "threatened" with privatization, and those who fear it most are rank-and-file employees. Since it is reasonable to assume that, in the new economic structures, the trade unions—regardless of their name and pedigree—will no longer discharge their function as a protective umbrella, the workers, and not they alone, are afraid that the only assistance they will then be able to request will have to be of the celestial kind. How would you, as a seasoned trade unionist, comment on these fears and apprehensions?

[Bujak] It is true that the role and position of the trade unions in enterprises are diminishing. At the same time, even in the tough conditions prevailing in Western capitalism, trade unions there are able to exert effective pressure on employers. And what happens here? The principle of union pluralism that we follow should not preclude a readiness to reach agreement on more important matters. And such an agreement need not be immediately labeled with a name or an emblem.

[Motas] Are you and your party in favor of applying harsh and uncompromising retribution to those found guilty of causing the economy's collapse? Do you believe that it is only the policymakers and top decisionmakers who should be called to account, or also the conscious executors of the decisions made at levels above them? Ordinary rank-and-file members of the now defunct Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] fear future discrimination in their public, political, and even economic activity. But we know that there are many skilled experts among them who could be useful in these areas, and particularly in the sphere of production.

[Bujak] Let me begin with the fact that virtually every family must have had someone in the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, or the Democratic Party. I believe that the state should not make any more internal enemies for itself. A person who is being hounded and is afraid is already more of an enemy than a genuine citizen. I also believe that those rank-and-file members were already badly deceived by their own party, and that should be an education in itself for them. But the main culprits, those responsible for bringing down our economy, or those behind the many gigantic rackets should certainly be identified. However, we must remember that, even at the present time, the scale of corruption and of uncontrolled lesser rackets is gradually increasing. The persisting "areas of disorder" in legal regulations, that are ill-adjusted to ever-changing circumstances, combined with the rather broad loopholes in the law, provide a great many opportunities....

[Motas] This is an embarrassing subject and an unfortunate problem. Let us move on to another topic. Is your visit here in Wroclaw the result of a chance occasion?

[Bujak] Not at all! I am interested in winning votes here in Wroclaw and in Lower Silesia, too. It is true I come from the Kielce area and that I now live in Warsaw, but the idea of economic development and invigoration of Lower Silesia is close to my heart, as it is to the heart of

every Pole. I see a chance for this region to develop through rational exploitation of our proximity to the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Austrians, and the Germans. What is more, I see it as a chance for all of Poland. If we treat these neighbors in a sound and sensible manner, we can even increase the stability of our western and southern borders. I am quite confident about this!

[Motas] In your public appearances, you not only appear calm and confident—you wear a smile on your face and you give the impression of being sure of yourself. Please forgive me for asking this, but are your calm and your smile just a facade or do they stem from an inner conviction?

[Bujak] I come from a rural community in the Kielce region. Already as a child, I received a rather tough education through helping my father on his farm. Then came military service with a commando unit, and finally the rigors of martial law.... The army experience and the various lessons I learned there proved to be most useful during "our" war, whenever I needed to make a quick and precise decision about the right moment to escape my "guardian angels" with the best chance of success. I always managed to make it.... I like to go mushroom picking, and I eat many different kinds of mushrooms without any fear for my life. Another thing I got out of my army service is a love of parachuting. Now and then, I get into an airplane, go right up into the sky, and then... jump out with a parachute to land on the ground below.

[Motas] In other words, you return from romantic flights of fancy to hard and practical realities. Is that right?

[Bujak] Exactly!

[Motas] And this must be why your supporters even composed an election slogan containing this good omen:

"This candidate dropped here from the sky!
A better one is hard to come by!"

Well, I wish you success and thank you for talking to us.

Solidarity Leader on Role of Democratic Reforms

LD2010224291 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT
20 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Solidarity Trade Union leader Marian Krzaklewski told his future electorate Sunday that Solidarity continues to be the guarantor of democratic reforms in Poland.

"We must play that role whether we like it or not, because no other force has emerged yet that would replace Solidarity in that capacity in a credible and controllable way," he declared at a meeting held in the south-eastern city of Lublin.

Leader of the Centre Alliance Jaroslaw Kaczynski claimed the most important goal of his party is the "implementation of an alternative economic plan and social reconstruction."

The Centre Alliance wants to depart from the Balcerowicz plan because it was useful only in its initial period and now it hampers the economic development of the country, Kaczynski claimed, addressing an electoral meeting in Rzeszow, south-eastern Poland.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Union leader urged his followers in Warsaw Sunday to follow the road of reforms and correct mistakes whenever they had been made rather than turn back from the road chosen by the Polish people.

Addressing his supporters at an open-air rally Tadeusz Mazowiecki urged them to show the will of reconciliation and understanding and give up political aggression.

Leader of the Freedom Party Kornel Morawiecki negatively assessed the performance of the previous government led by Mazowiecki and the present one headed by Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

"These are two years of disappointment and discouragement, especially to the young people," he told an electoral meeting in the south-eastern towns of Tarnobrzeg and Stalowa Wola.

In another development, electoral posters have appeared in Warsaw, with openly anti-semitic slogans "Poles to the Sejm. Jews to the Knesset" printed on them. They were distributed by the Polish National Community Party led by Boleslaw Tejkowski.

The electorate in Poland will cast their votes next Sunday, October 27, while Polish citizens residing in countries situated in the Western Hemisphere will go to the polling stations already next Saturday, October 26, the Polish electoral law has it. There will be 167 constituencies outside Poland, with polling stations to be opened at Polish diplomatic and commercial missions, as well as at Polish building sites abroad.

Iliescu Addresses New Government on Reform Program

*AU1810131091 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1830 GMT 17 Oct 91*

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu at a ceremony at which Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan introduced the members of his new cabinet to the president; at Cotroceni Palace in Bucharest on 17 October—recorded]

[Text] Mr. Prime Minister, Messrs. Ministers: First of all, allow me to congratulate you on the confidence that has been entrusted to you today and on being endorsed by Parliament. I realize that your mission is not an easy one, and I am aware of your feelings. As you foresee, you have a difficult task ahead of you.

First of all, I would like to mark this moment as a political success. The formation of the government in its present composition is a political coalition that provides the premises for broader and more constructive cooperation of the political forces represented in Parliament. For the current period in the life of our country, this is a very important factor because it allows us to overcome our difficulties together.

I would like to call on you, in your capacity as members of the government, to show a spirit of [word indistinct] in government and not to carry out any party policy. You should form a government team of executives, as endorsed by the country's legislative forum, a team that must work together, shoulder to shoulder, in complete understanding, to fulfill the program that was presented to and endorsed by Parliament.

I would like to say a few words about the program platform that the government has put forward to Parliament. While I do not want to repeat ideas that are included in this report, there are a few things that I would like to stress, that is, some important, basic ideas regarding the tasks of the government in this period, as well as some priorities and urgent matters.

First, I would like to stress the fundamental idea of the government program to ensure continuity in the process of democratization of the country and economic reform, which is imperative for the transition to a market economy, the only way to improve the economic situation and social life in our country.

There has been much speculation recently about the question of what this government represents and whether the confrontation between the pro-reform and conservative forces will [ensure] the victory of the conservative forces. This is a wrong and unfounded idea, like the speculation that has taken place. Today, only [word indistinct] people can oppose irreversible processes that life imposes and that the whole social-political life in our country represents.

Certainly, the process of implementing the goals of our political and economic reform is encountering certain difficulties. This is reflected not only in our own experience but also in the experience of neighboring countries.

As a matter of fact, as our economists who held a session at the National Institution of Economic Studies on the problems of the transition period have stressed, at the moment we are facing two types of crisis. The inherited crisis generated by the structure of our national economy and the inertia engendered by the old mechanisms of the centralized economy, and a new crisis provoked or generated by the transition process itself. The processes are complex, the phenomena are extremely complicated, and the practical issues confronting our national economy are very difficult. Some of the priorities mentioned by the prime minister at the Parliament session concern, first of all, the measures that have to be taken in connection with the winter period, something that encounters certain difficulties this year. We are talking, first of all, about the issue of overcoming certain current, obvious difficulties in connection with ensuring the supply of electric energy and heating in this period, difficulties deriving from reduced reserves of coal and fuel oil at the thermal power plants. Great efforts must be made, both in the line of [coal] production and in ensuring lignite and brown coal production, of oil and fuel oil respectively, as well as covering imports—taking into consideration certain disturbances that have taken place in our relations with the Soviet Union and other countries that are important for our import of such resources. These are problems of maximum urgency, and they must be dealt with in the first days, by the beginning of next week.

And finally, another issue is to ensure supplies of agricultural products and foodstuffs for the winter, considering the difficulties that have arisen in this agricultural year, mainly in ensuring cereals and other goods as well.

The second priority is the agricultural campaign. In connection with the harvest, there are seasonal products that are being currently harvested, such as sunflower—which has been almost concluded—and sugar beet, to be carried out in accordance with the new production process that has been launched, vegetables, and fruit. We should take into account the losses resulting from climatic conditions. I am also thinking of the corn harvest, which provides a chance for us to balance the shortfall in cereals. There is a good corn crop to be expected this year, and we have to ensure it is harvested without delay.

And finally, maybe the most important issue is to ensure sowing, because we are greatly behind with this operation. We must use the still favorable weather, and let us hope that it will stay [word indistinct] this fall and, thus, enable us to ensure next year's crops.

I will have to stress another complex and complicated issue that the government has to solve rapidly. I am referring to the issue of ensuring a balanced relation between salaries, incomes in general, and prices. Certain corrections have to be made in this respect, and we should ensure balance in the system of wages, which should correspond to the system of prices. We should see to it that currency exchange is more even and ensure the internal convertibility of the leu. Both these actions require thorough examination and a concrete

program of actions for the coming period, with the participation of both the economic system and the banking system. This will ensure a more balanced framework for the implementation of these measures, and we will, thus, avoid deterioration of the economic situation. This act requires negotiations between the government and trade unions, or between trade unions and economic executives or individual economic agents, and a picture of all measures will emerge on this basis. Thus, we will reach a certain balance and a so-called social pact or understanding with the trade unions, and a certain moratorium on an agreement on prices and salaries can be drafted.

Within this context, and for the entire upcoming period of integration into this program, special measures will have to be implemented to support people on low incomes, retired people, families with small children, students, pupils, and other categories. A number of other measures, which have been examined in various ministries and which will be finalized by the government, will also have to be taken to ensure accessible prices for certain basic necessities. This can probably be ensured by means of subsidies, mainly in case of (basic foods.)

And the fourth problem confronting the economy is one of eliminating the economic and financial blockage that is hampering economic activity, mainly in industrial units. These are simple blockages that were brought about by the massive stocks of products and materials that were accumulated in many enterprises. A detailed examination of this phenomenon, in conjunction with all the ministries involved, with the economic actors, and the banking system, should be carried out to find adequate solutions to eliminate this blockage.

I would also like to stress the urgent measures required to ensure appropriate export activities, to improve our external balance of commercial payments, and to ensure currency resources, in view of the vital imports required in the coming period. Within this context, I could mention the importance of relaunching production in general, and export production in particular, to make our external economic relations more dynamic, and to find the most viable forms of cooperation, based on optimal economic effectiveness, to support the modernization process of our activities. To fulfill these requirements, we need increased mobility and a more active engagement of our executives, of the leaders of economic units, and of the ministerial representatives in promoting foreign economic cooperation relations. With regard to the talks that I held with a number of firms at the Bucharest International Fair, it is interesting to mention that, in spite of our current conditions and certain difficulties in our political life, the presence at this fair indicates broad interest. Many [words indistinct] were present, some of them noting that they are willing to actively participate in our economic activity and promote cooperation relations with our economic units. There is still much inactivity from our businessmen and our enterprises, although we can already see signs of some progress and certain steps that must be encouraged and supported to give more impetus to these actions.

From this point of view, the government is duty-bound to promote greater economic initiative and greater commitment at all levels, both at the level of ministries and ministerial structures, as well as at the level of individual economic agents. The framework of the permanent dialogue between the government and the economic enterprises should be increased, broadened with a view toward ensuring a greater dynamism of this process. In promoting this economic initiative that I was talking about, the executive is, first and foremost, the administrator of the national economy, and from this point of view, he should devote appropriate attention to finding concrete solutions to current economic problems.

Likewise, the government will have to take all necessary steps that are connected with ensuring calm, public order, the normal course of all social, intellectual, cultural life, and of education and health activities, and it will have to ease all sources of tension. From this point of view, one of the government's major tasks is connected with preparing and ensuring the electoral campaign, with a view to ensuring local and general elections in accordance with the fulfillment of Parliament's plans to finalize the constitution and the appropriate laws. Cooperation with political factors is needed, that is, we should all make efforts—and the government has an important role in this respect—to ensure a civilized climate in which to carry out the electoral campaign and the elections.

I would like to stress the three fundamental conditions that can enable the government to fulfill its task. The first condition is internal political support. This implies actions to maintain and broaden dialogue with political forces, both with the parties represented in the Parliament and the extraparlimentary political forces, thus, through joint cooperation the practice of the policy of street pressure can be eliminated.

The second condition is the social support granted to the people who must be helped to understand the current process and the difficulties that we are facing. This means a greater openness, a permanent dialogue with the people, and a clear presentation of the real problems our national economy and our society are confronted with. Within this context, we should also include the dialogue with trade unions, which must be given the utmost attention, because they must be real partners in the process of examining issues and finding solutions to problems.

Finally, the third element is foreign support. I am referring to this issue in consideration of our concern about this support, that is, the international message that the government and the political forces should project regarding two conditions that have always been imposed on us. These conditions are the projection of the stability and of the continuity of the economic reform. I believe that we can appeal to the patriotic feelings of all forces regarding the responsibility of national interests; this refers both to those who are working in the government and to the parliamentary and extraparlimentary opposition, our press, and the mass media—how we project

the country's image abroad, to gain credibility and do everything possible to solve inter-ethnic problems.

In this context, I would like to mention certain inter-ethnic tensions; primarily, I would like to express approval of the content of the Parliament, that is, the Deputies' Assembly declaration in connection with the extremist slogan regarding the so-called territorial autonomy of the Szeklers' Land. Justifiably, these actions were termed as diversionist, as provocations that are aimed at stimulating new tension and are a [word indistinct] political game. I would like to say that I appreciate the realistic position adopted by the parliamentarians of all political orientations, and the position adopted in the end by the majority of the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania representatives, who detached themselves from the actions planned for Luita demonstrations and who condemned them and their initiators. I would also like to express my disapproval of the insistence in which exaggerated statements are made and realities are distorted regarding the rights of minorities, especially the rights of Hungarian ethnics and including criticism of certain provisions of the new constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly. These are meant neither to help our image nor to maintain a climate of cooperation in our country.

As far as the issue of education is concerned, maybe one should support such an action aimed at drafting a sort of White Charter, with comparative presentation of the rights ensured through the current legislation and our social-political practices—as far as the rights that are ensured to minorities in Romania are concerned, compared to rights ensured to ethnic minorities elsewhere, including the neighboring countries and including the rights of Romanians who live in those countries.

(?This should also be discussed) both for the external factors and for the dialogue we are holding. I can say that there is very limited information, and certain distorted information has been circulated about the situation in Transylvania, the demographic situation, and the historical situation. For many people, Transylvania is a territory inhabited by a majority of ethnic Hungarians. They are all surprised when they find out statistical data about the ethnic composition of inhabitants in Transylvania, which has always been a Romanian territory. Some people make a particular effort to cultivate confusion on all these issues.

About all these issues I would like to call on all citizens of our country, including the ethnic Hungarians, not to let themselves be dragged into nationalistic and separatist actions that cultivate suspicion and mistrust. We have been living side by side for centuries, and we must have relations of esteem and mutual trust. There is no other way. This is the only way in which we can build a proper life for all and build a peaceful life that can ensure prosperity for all. This is also a necessary and obligatory component of promoting democracy and ensuring a civilized life for all citizens of our country. Everyone must love the country and fight for its economic prosperity. All political forces and the mass media

should be militant in reaching this goal. The government is duty-bound to find solutions to the fundamental social-economic problems that can guarantee balance and the necessary understanding among all citizens of our country.

I wanted to make these points and to note these few ideas and obligations that face the new government. I wish you success in your mission.

Stolojan 17 Oct News Conference Reported

AU2010181091 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1701 GMT 17 Oct 91

[News conference by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan at Victoria Palace in Bucharest on 17 October—live]

[Excerpts] [Stolojan] I wanted to have this news conference today, at 1900 hours, for several reasons, one of which is that I have had several more or less impromptu meetings with various journalists. Hence, I thought it would be unfair to deprive those interested in a dialogue of the opportunity to meet with me in an organized framework. Second, this news conference could only take place when the exact composition of the government was known—in practical terms, the government begins its duties right now. Third and finally, I wanted to have this news conference because this government must start tackling problems as soon as possible, because the problems are as they are and, as you well know, consequently, they should be tackled without delay. Tomorrow morning, I must install a few ministers in their posts, ministers that are totally new, never part of any cabinet. I will do that tomorrow morning, after which we must proceed to analyses and estimations of various sectors to see what is and has to be done.

Before proceeding to questions and answers, I would like to emphasize one more point. Of course, I am glad that we managed to obtain the Parliament's endorsement for this government, or better said, this team for which we fought. Second, this is a government you can christen as you like—a government of national opening or inter-opening. The important thing is that it is a step forward compared to the previous situation. This is a sure thing, which nobody can deny, since there are several political parties represented in the government.

Of course, from these 13 days of negotiations with the political parties, one should also draw certain lessons for future activities in Romania. In practical terms, other governments will come, and each effort to form a new cabinet may drag on for a long time if the necessary lessons are not learned from the experience that we have had. In my opinion, the political parties playing a role in Romania's political landscape should search for their allies in due course, consolidate their partnerships, work out their strategies, and prepare, if you like, long lists of proposals for people who can take over portfolios, assume responsibilities, and so forth. This is no easy thing, since the pace of life is frantic and the relations among political parties—not only between the government party and the opposition parties, but also within

the opposition parties—are not necessarily all that harmonious or cheerful. There are tensions between various groups of political parties that go something like, if that guy is sitting at the table, I will not be there, and so forth.

Therefore, quite a few lessons should be drawn from this experience, so that the political process of forming new cabinets in Romania in the future is prepared long in advance. Another important conclusion is that when there is the necessary desire and will—obviously also backed by some very definite interests, too—solutions will be found. Something else was proved by the last 13 days. Something which seemed almost impossible after the first week became quite possible the second week, namely the presence in the government of political parties other than the ruling one, which won the elections with the known percentage on 20 May [1990].

Likewise, in my capacity as prime minister of a government born as you all know, I can recommend the following to those who have to think about the future functioning of the economy, the government, and the executive power in general: This executive power cannot be stretched like rubber, without taking into consideration the objective problems for which it is responsible. There is a tendency to bring as many political parties as possible into the government, so that they can obtain portfolios, not necessarily first-rank ones, either, such as ministers, but also second-rank portfolios, such as state secretaries, undersecretaries, and so forth. In my opinion, one should start thinking now about the future government that will result in the wake of the next elections, including the structure of the executive power, which should not have to accommodate various circumstantial interests or wishes.

I will give an example, so that you can see what I mean. For instance, in Germany, there is a Ministry of Finance, which is led by a minister who is a politician. This ministry has a second ministerial position, which mainly handles political relations with the legislature. These two positions are political ones. Whenever a government is changed, these people are changed, not the personnel of the ministry. The ministries are operated by civil servants, professionals, who should not be changed whenever a government is changed.

Of course, this is an issue pertaining to the relevant statutes, which should also be finalized to protect both the civil servants' and public interests. A civil servant is a man with the task of implementing the respective institution's goals. Hence, he should be protected against these changes of government because, otherwise, a change of government would be tantamount to a rearrangement of structures over a long period of time. Of course, we are currently going through a period of consolidation, with each problem being tackled afresh. These are several conclusions that must be applied, otherwise future government formulas will be faced with very serious problems.

With this, I would like to conclude my statement by reiterating that I am pleased with the fact that the governmental team—I repeat, the team—managed to obtain the Parliament's endorsement. In view of the difficulties faced by our economy, we must proceed with our work immediately. Yes, please!

[Unidentified reporter] In view of the fact that one of the new government's targets is the continuation of reform toward a market economy, and that the choice of the majority, as shown by the latest public opinion polls, is to accelerate this process, do you plan to speed up the process to this end? If so, what do you intend to do first? This is the first question. The second question refers to your meeting today with several EC representatives. On the eve of winter, with everyone aware of our food and fuel shortages, did they say that they plan to help us or not?

[Stolojan] The answer to the first question is the following: Since everyone agrees with the continuation of reform, the pace of reform will depend on what has been done in this respect so far. The issue is not to accelerate or slow down, but rather to complete the process. The program submitted to Parliament—in this respect, I forgot to tell you that I was very encouraged by the fact that the Parliament, almost with an absolute majority, approved of this program—includes targets that clearly indicate the continuation of reform. When can these targets be achieved? A target such as the unification of the two exchange rates for the leu requires calculations, analyses, and the coordination of all measures. That is why I emphasized the need to tackle such problems without delay. The moment that the go-ahead is given for such a measure, it is clear that all other subsequent measures must follow rapidly, otherwise things get blocked. What does unifying the exchange rate mean? Aside from currency problems and relations with foreign countries, it also means to be in control in all price fluctuations for import raw materials, other products, and so forth. It also means that you anticipate the impact of such a measure on salaries. Therefore, the pace of reform depends on the time it takes to complete these analyses and estimations. [passage omitted]

Regarding your second question, I can think of two very interesting conclusions that the EC delegation reached after today's talks: One was that they will do everything possible to help us. There is a whole procedure to this, of course. A report has to be drawn up first, which they assured me will be positive. The second conclusion is that, in their opinion, the situation in agriculture is not so drastic. Of course, this may only be an impression of theirs. In their opinion, our country has clear-cut potential in this respect, and they wanted to know why we need this assistance. To understand the need for such help, they visited a flooded area and other regions and talked to the people there. Hence, this very clear conclusion: Of course, they will help and support us, but they also reached the conclusion that there is very serious potential here, which should be stimulated to resolve such situations and avoid such problems.

[ANSA reporter] [passage omitted] I would like to know whether the government has examined, in advance, the report presented today in Parliament on inter-ethnic relations in areas populated by a Hungarian majority, where the Romanians are a minority? How does the government assess the information contained in that report? Thank you.

[Stolojan] It is obvious that this government could not possibly have examined this report. I do not think that the previous government did, either, as the report is the work of a parliamentary commission and was submitted to Parliament without the need for the government's approval or examination. Next question. (?please). [passage omitted]

[Lucian Gheorghiu, COTIDIANUL reporter] During your first speech in Parliament, you spoke out with determination against inflationist measures. Afterwards, the issue of social problems and human suffering returned in a sort of obsessive way in the addresses of the National Salvation Front [FSN] parliamentarians and its allied groups. Does this mean a conflict between you and the Parliament? I am asking you this question considering the delay, so to speak, in the endorsement of your government?

[Stolojan] I do not believe that we can talk about a conflict. Social protection can be granted only within the possibilities of the society in each stage of development. If we are not able to combat certain pressures, so to speak, and ideas to grant social protection other than what the economy is capable of, then you should know that the result will be inflation. I am telling you very clearly: Those who want this, that is, social protection that is not within the capability of this economy, it is not possible. It has been proven by universal experience. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to say welcome to the newborn after a very difficult delivery. Now the question. Evidently you are the leader of a transition government. Economic problems will come second in line, although they continue to remain very important and pressing. Nevertheless, as you were saying, the major target of this cabinet is of a political nature in the organization and preparations for elections. Could you tell me what are, in your view and in this cabinet's view, the stages of the electoral process, including the local, legislative, and presidential elections? What is the procedure that you expect in this regard?

[Stolojan] Well, I can tell you the following. When we drafted the government program to be presented to the Parliament, I felt we should discuss this problem in the report as well. The report was discussed with those who were going to set up the government, however, and to make the report more concise, we omitted a number of issues that I had intended previously to include in it. Your question makes me believe that I was right in insisting that this issue should have remained in the report. What is the situation? It is that on the issue of

elections, which is such a delicate point for this country but so very necessary, there is only one consensus among the political parties, that is that elections should be held as soon as possible. This is the only consensus. The rest is a series of different views, such as: Local elections should come before general elections; local elections should be held together with general elections; or local elections should come after general elections, and other differing views. These are not the views of parties with minor representation in Parliament. These are essentially the views of parties with a considerable number of representatives in Parliament. Thus, my intention is—I have also appointed a committee to carry out this task—to meet with the parties at once and to try to find a consensus that should be acceptable to as many parties as possible, because total agreement cannot be achieved. Of course, to a great extent, the result also depends on the Parliament, because they have this task of endorsing the constitution, as I have already mentioned, the law on local public administration, and the electoral law. I am repeating, however, that the elections must be held as soon as possible. This is the solution for this country.

[COTIDIANUL reporter] Mr. Prime Minister: Please give your personal position and the position of your government in connection with the latest developments in Moldova. Namely, the People's Front of Moldova became the opposition and, on 13 October, President Mircea Snegur said that whoever thinks of union is irresponsible? [passage omitted]

[Stolojan] Without pretending to express a very strong viewpoint, because I have not had time to study the subject in the way you have studied it, I can very clearly affirm that our policy is to support Moldova in all its endeavors aimed at recognizing its independence. This is also what they want. The second very clear problem is that Moldova will decide what it has to do. The third point of view for me is that I am Romanian, and I know that there are Romanians living there and they must be supported. The decision, however, is in their hands. The situation is complex enough without me complicating it further through views that I am not able to properly substantiate because of a lack of information.

[Dorin Radulescu Bobica, DIMINEATA reporter] First, congratulations and secondly, questions: You begin with the obvious wish to examine the mechanisms of the national economy. Will you let the public know in detail the results of this study? The second question, trying to define your personality: The former prime minister, Petre Roman, affirmed in an interview broadcast in prime time on national television that you are one of us, to quote him. I would like you to comment on this statement that, to some of us, seemed paradoxical. [passage omitted]

[Stolojan] Answering your first question, telling the public what we want to do is only part of the process. We have done it with this program, and we will continue to do it with the goal of preparing people for measures we intend to take, which includes informing the press and

the mass media in general on measures that we intend to take. There is, however, a small problem.

Certainly, we try to do all we can to inform people and make the appropriate clarifications. When we start to implement measures, however, then there are occasions in which measures will be implemented before one can inform or prepare the public. This can be dictated by the nature of the measure at hand. Unifying the exchange rate does not offer us the possibility of waiting for a month before taking action on wages and prices. Actions can develop momentum that cannot be stopped. It is our intention, however, to keep people informed.

As far as the question, he is one of us or he is not one of us, is concerned, he wanted to very clearly express that we are involved in the reform, that they favor the reform, and they meant that I am one of those who believe in this reform. [passage omitted]

[DEMOCRATIA reporter] The daily DEMOCRATIA that I represent warmly welcomed your appointment as head of the executive branch. In your view, what are the stages in the process of Romania's economic revival? When can we expect an improvement in our standard of living?

[Stolojan] I would be exceedingly happy if I knew the date when this improvement will take place. What I want to say, and what I also included in the report, and what is a little bit more difficult to understand, is that our economy can function only through a transformation into a market system. This is a very long road. This means very definite goals and investments, but the road is very long. This means the reconversion of the labor force from certain sectors to others. [passage omitted]. Your question, however, should receive the following answer: The faster we conclude the implementation of the reform, the closer we get to the moment when the democratic effect of the market economy will be reflected in an improved standard of living. The timetable for an improved standard of living coincides with that of economic growth. There is no other way. The revival of economic development is connected with the rapid achievement of these market economy mechanisms. The economic revival cannot begin until we solve other problems involving the economic mechanisms.

[Nicolae Vlad Radulescu, reporter for Iasi newspaper 24 HOURS] Iasi congratulates you in your new position. The first question: In view of the shortfalls of the Roman government, which you must eliminate in due course, to what extent are you the crown prince of the reform? The second question is, to what extent did Mr. Roman contribute to the establishment of the new government.

[Stolojan] The first question is more complicated. Everyone is talking about negative aspects, although there are positive aspects that can counterbalance them. It would be very interesting to know how would you weigh things. I believe that the former Roman Government has done a number of things that cannot be contested. Certainly, it also had shortcomings. I do not feel at all like the crown prince of the reform. The reform

exists, and it should be concluded. That is our goal on the road on which we have embarked. As far as the shortcomings are concerned, you should know that we are trying to eliminate them, but it is not a very simple thing to do. If it were simple, they would have solved them. [passage omitted]

One should not forget that Mr. Roman is the leader of the ruling FSN party, and in this capacity he actively participated in negotiations. I want to tell you one thing: Had the FSN not shown maturity and understanding during this moment and had not shown the willingness to renounce certain things—because what the FSN did was to renounce the advantage offered to it by the 20 May 1990 elections, a government with an FSN majority—such a government in which other parties can participate would not have been successful. Mr. Roman could not have avoided attending these negotiations, and as far as his role is concerned, it was an important role because political balance depends on the FSN.

[Reporter Fruchtmann, Radio Cologne] Mr. Prime Minister, we have followed the passionate debates in the Parliament in connection with the situation in Harghita and Covasna Counties. To what extent do you believe that this situation could affect relations between Romania and Hungary and create a new hotbed of tension in Europe? A second question: You talked about your meeting with an EC delegation. Could you mention the amount of your request for assistance, and to what extent have you been satisfied?

[Stolojan] As far as the first issue is concerned, I would not like to add anything to what people have said already. In my capacity as prime minister, however, I want to tell you very clearly that there are issues in Romania that one cannot joke about. This should be understood—not even jokingly. A number of issues cannot be approached in Romania, such as territorial problems and other things. These are things one cannot joke about. In this respect, I do not believe that one has anything to discuss further. I want to repeat it again, there are things that cannot be joked about in Romania. If there are irresponsible persons who try to patronize, or do I do not know what, it is difficult to appreciate in a rational way such an action. I want to repeat it again, however: These are things that one cannot joke about in Romania because they are sacred for every Romanian.

[Adrian Gaspar, BBC News reporter] How did the U.S. Administration receive your appointment, and what contacts and exchange of views have you had so far? This is one question. The second question is, what guarantee can you offer immediately or in the shortest time possible to foreign investments and investors that their investments will be protected?

[Stolojan] It is known that I had a meeting with Mr. Shiefer from the State Department, whose message was very clear to me. It is less important who the members of a government are. What is more important is the policy promoted by that government. We have expressed here

very clearly what policy we intend to promote, and I do not believe that there are any other problems from this point of view.

I believe that, at the moment, Romania can offer every possible guarantee, even more than other countries, and I do not believe that it is necessary to speak further on this subject. I can only tell you that during the most terrible times, this country respected its commitments. Even in the most terrible times, this country has never violated its foreign commitments. [passage omitted]

I can tell you that whenever foreign partners came here, no matter from where, and evaluated the situation and associated themselves with Romanian partners, things have been fine, with small unavoidable exceptions, certainly. In general, in every area where this has happened, we have positive signs, and I believe that this is something that can pull us out of our difficulties sooner.

[Unidentified reporter] [passage indistinct] How will you manage to make the voice of each party be heard in relation to the executive branch, especially to prevent [word indistinct] included in the governmental problem? Do you foresee the establishment of a consultative council in this respect?

[Stolojan] It is possible. This has been proposed. We will think about it, but I want to repeat again, the executive branch will be very busy with the problems concerning the issues I was mentioning before, being accentuated by the coming of winter. There are problems in each sector. They must be examined properly, and solutions have to be found to those problems.

[Gi'da Lazar, ROMANIA LIBERA reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, in your Parliament report, you mentioned a new ministry: Budget, State Incomes, and Financial Control.

[Stolojan] No, this one has existed before...

[Lazar] Have you changed the name of a ministry?

[Stolojan] No. The minister of budget, state income, and financial control was part of an existing ministry. I want to mention something. You should know that there were various proposals for dissecting and dividing ministries. This is another issue that has to be considered by the future government after the elections.

[Lazar] Another question: How many state secretaries are there in your government? Is there only one in the Education Ministry? What about Mr. Dragomir? Is he also state secretary?

[Stolojan] Yes, but he is not a government member. There is only one state secretary in the Education Ministry. [passage omitted]

[Gheorghe Radulescu, Civic Alliance] The former government, or ex-government, was asked to present publicly Romania's budget for 1990 and the way in which it was implemented. Do you believe that the new government will do it?

[Stolojan] I believe that the problem has already been solved. The account on the distribution of the state budget for 1990 has been drafted, and this will be presented to the Parliament. Since it will be presented to the Parliament, it is virtually open to the public.

[Unidentified reported] Mr. Prime Minister, during our last meeting with you, in your former capacity, you said that you favor total openness. Do you maintain the same opinion in your new capacity as prime minister? A second question: Your predecessor, in his capacity as national leader, had the daily AZI as the official paper of the FSN. As an independent person, what official paper do you have in mind?

[Stolojan] The openness is categorical. The measures that we intend to take cannot function without openness and without being known and understood. As far as an official paper is concerned, certainly AZI cannot be my official paper or the paper of the government. [passage omitted]

[Name of reporter and question indistinct]

[Stolojan] I can tell you one thing. Ever since I have been an economist, I have always been interested in understanding problems, having a general view of the entire economy. Even when I was working for three years in an enterprise, or even when I was an employee in the Ministry of Finance, no matter what my position was, economist, section head, deputy director, or director, I was always interested in the entire mechanism. Thus, I could see the whole issue of the Ministry of Finance. [passage omitted]

[REUTER reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, please be so kind to tell us something. In October, Mr. Dijmarescu ordered prices frozen. How long will this situation last, which factors slow down the reform process, and what austerity measures will you take after forming the coalition, if such a thing is necessary?

[Stolojan] I do not believe that we can talk about freezing prices. I believe that the following measure was taken: Any modification of prices must be announced three months in advance. This does not mean freezing prices. This means that we tried to make the modification of prices orderly. If we had to evaluate this problem again, the fundamental decisions on this issue would be made before 1 November. Now, you should know that it is very difficult to change the course of events. The problem is whether it is worth changing the course of events in accordance with other strategies. [passage omitted]

I can tell you that certain measures have been taken for a group of scientists to examine the entire strategy and

draw a number of conclusions that will be made available to the political parties. When they draft their platforms, which is done in accordance with their doctrines, they should know the facts and dates concerning the economy and the connections between those facts and dates.

[Adrian Ionescu, MOMENTUL reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, please tell us again, which will be the prerogatives of the economy and finance minister and of the minister of budget, state income, and others, and tell us whether they will be part of the same ministry. This has not been made very clear.

[Stolojan] Yes. Both of them are part of the Ministry of Economy and Finance. The minister of economy and finance is in charge of the entire ministry, which has two parts. One of them deals with the budget, financial controls, and prices. A second part includes the economic prognosis and other compartments. Thus, the economy and finance minister is in charge of general operations, while the budget minister has to focus on the budget, income, and controls, because it is a difficult area today. Certainly, the budget minister is dependent on, or better said, coordinated by the minister of economy and finance. It is not an abnormal situation. As you know, when there are two officers with same rank in the Army, one has a function that allows him to be in command of the entire unit. The Ministry of Economy and Finance is a ministry in which things have to be carried out properly.

[Camelia Spataru, Bacau newspaper reporter] Recently, a member of the former government said that Romania is among the leading countries, as far as economic reform is concerned. Now that you have the mandate, do you still agree with it? I am talking about Adrian Severin's statement.

[Stolojan] I can say that there is much truth in what he says. Maybe things have to be evaluated and comparative tables drawn up, showing how things are in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, and Romania, and a clear picture can be received about the progress made in the transition period to a market economy, so that everyone can see clearly. Thus, there is much truth in what Mr. Severin said. Its dimension must be established to show exactly

where Romania is. What I can state categorically, however, is that no country among the former socialist countries has done so much in such a short period as Romania. Countries such as Hungary, although it was called a socialist country, started clearly on the road toward market economy in 1968. The reform in Hungary was directed toward a market economy. Although they had many confusing problems and success was not evident, people were accustomed to the concept of a market economy for years and were moving within this framework. So for them, things have been much easier. They have not had to explain things to people as we have. Our people were totally lacking a frame of reference in connection with market economy concepts before 1989. Thus, we have made a fantastic leap forward. [passage omitted]

[Amelia Neacsu, DREPTATEA reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, please tell us if there really were portfolios that were declared non-negotiable. That is all, thank you.

[Stolojan] The evolution was as follows: After the first round of talks, it was clear that this government's solutions depended on the capability of the FSN to renounce key positions in the government, as well as the capability of other parties to renounce their pretensions to occupy all key positions in the government. All participated in this process, and the present negotiated solution has been found. [passage omitted]

[Political party leader, name indistinct] Mr. Prime Minister, what concrete steps in foreign relations do you envisage to carry on relations with the USSR and the United States?

[Stolojan] As you see, I agree with this policy of openness in foreign relations. No normal person would think differently. As a person shaped in the schools of administration, however, I can tell you in a concrete way that, for me, priority means the goals included in the program that we presented to the Parliament. Thus, I would like all actions in foreign relations to be subordinated to the achievement of these goals. Any other actions proposed to us, actions that will lead to the achievement of those goals, will enjoy my strongest support. I cannot tell you at this moment what concrete actions I will take toward the two countries. They are extremely important countries for the support of our reform, so you can rest assured that things will be as they have to be. Thank you. [passage omitted]

International**Reaction to EC-Sponsored Cease-Fire Agreement****Presidency on Tudjman Order**

LD2010011691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2357 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—TANJUG has been asked to make public the following statement:

In connection with an order issued by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on 19 October 1991, the SFRY Presidency Information Service has been authorized to announce the following:

The public has been acquainted with the fact that the SFRY Presidency, at an extraordinary session held in The Hague on 18 October 1991, endorsed the following stands and decisions:

"The SFRY Presidency and President Tudjman, in the presence of President Milosevic, agreed to give the following orders to their forces: —an immediate and unconditional cease-fire; —the immediate lifting of the blockade of all Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] barracks and YPA facilities in Croatia; —to carry out as soon as possible an evacuation of all YPA barracks and facilities that are under blockade, from Croatia in a direction which will be agreed on by a tripartite working group in Zagreb."

The SFRY Presidency ordered the Federal Secretariat for National Defense to issue adequate orders to commands of YPA units to carry out obligations falling within their competence and stemming from these stands and decisions, provided that their implementation starts as soon as the Croatian president issues adequate orders to the armed formations in Croatia. The federal secretary for national defense has carried out this order.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's order says, however, that the establishment of an absolute cease-fire and lifting the blockade of all barracks and YPA facilities in the Republic of Croatia is conditional upon "simultaneously lifting the YPA blockade of towns, ports, roads and air traffic"—which the positions and decisions agreed on and endorsed in The Hague do not mention.

It is true that Franjo Tudjman tried to fulfill these conditions during the talks in The Hague. This was not accepted. It is clearly visible from the above-mentioned text of the stands and decisions that were agreed upon and endorsed in The Hague.

Only when Croatian President Franjo Tudjman issues an unconditional order on an immediate and unconditional cease-fire and on immediately lifting the blockade of all YPA barracks and facilities in Croatia, will it be possible to consider that Tudjman has fulfilled his obligation assumed by the stands and decisions in The Hague on 18 October 1991.

Kostic Chairs Presidency Session

LD2010182691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1753 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—In the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade a session of the SFRY Presidency began at 1800 [1700 GMT], the information service of the Presidency has announced.

The session is being presided over by Vice President Branko Kostic, and Presidency members Borisav Jovic, Yugoslav Kostic, and Sejdo Bejramovic are present. Also taking part in the session are SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic, Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin, and Stane Brovet and Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretaries for national defense and foreign affairs.

The session is considering the implementation of the decision of the SFRY Presidency on a cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia which was agreed in The Hague on 18 October. It is also to establish the activities of the SFRY Presidency in connection with the conference on Yugoslavia's future work.

Croatia 'Not Observing' Hague Accord

LD2010233291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2146 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—An SFRY Presidency session was held in Belgrade today, presided over by SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic. Taking part in the work of the session were the president of the SFRY Assembly, the federal secretary for internal affairs, and the deputy federal secretaries for foreign affairs and national defense, the statement from the session says.

The SFRY Presidency examined the implementation of the decisions on a cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia, agreed in The Hague on 18 October 1991, and set out its activities in connection with the future work of the conference on Yugoslavia.

The SFRY Presidency assessed that the armed formations of the Republic of Croatia are not observing the Hague agreement on an immediate unconditional cease-fire and lifting the blockades on all barracks and Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] facilities. It was stressed that the blockade has not been lifted on a single garrison, and that instead the blockade on several barracks in Croatia has been strengthened.

It was noted at the session that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's conditions in his order to the Croatian armed formations, are unacceptable and run counter to the stances and decisions adopted in The Hague on 18 October 1991. In this connection, the SFRY Presidency has addressed a letter to Lord Carington and EC Council of Ministers Chairman van den Broek in which it is noted that the establishment of peace

unfortunately depends exclusively on Croatia's implementation of the agreement and the behavior of its armed formations. The letter also points out that it is unacceptable that Franjo Tudjman is making it conditional on demands which were rejected in The Hague and which are directly opposed to the clear and firm mutually undertaken commitments of the agreement in The Hague. The letter also mentions the SFRY Presidency's profound concern as the supreme commander of the armed forces, at the state and unbearable conditions which YPA members have found themselves in during the past two months in the blocked garrisons and Army installations, and this also applies to the numerous members of their families in the Republic of Croatia.

The SFRY Presidency also considered the course and results of the work of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague. Among other things it was stated that the vice president of the SFRY Presidency had been prevented from delivering his speech in full, which is an unusual gesture in diplomatic practice, and which brings into question confidence in the impartiality of the EC on the resolution of Yugoslavia's problems. In this connection the SFRY Presidency concludes that the full text of the SFRY Presidency vice president's speech should be sent to representatives of the EC and other participants in the conference on Yugoslavia, so that the views presented in it may become known in the work of the conference in The Hague.

The SFRY Presidency assessed that the statement of the Federal Executive Council (FEC) president at the conference in The Hague did not reflect the principle stances of the FEC, which the latter publically issued in connection with the proposed document in The Hague. In certain elements of his speech the FEC President went beyond the framework of his responsibilities.

Proceeding from the exceptional importance of the The Hague document for the future of the country, the SFRY Presidency suggests that it should be examined as soon as possible by the Commission for Constitutional Questions and the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

The SFRY Presidency decided to inform the EC Ministerial Council and all participants in the conference on Yugoslavia of its approach to the solution of the Yugoslav crisis, which proceeds from the fact that Yugoslavia exists as an international legal subject, that it is a founding member of the United Nations, that any resolution of the political crisis presupposes respect for the principle of legality, which means definite decision making on its future in the assemblies of the republics and provinces and the SFRY Assembly, and that the rights of nations to self-determination expressed by democratic means (referendum) be observed, including the observance of the right of nations who want to continue their lives in the framework of a transformed Yugoslav state community.

In keeping with this approach, the SFRY Presidency will continue its involvement in the work of the conference

on Yugoslavia, and in this connection has established its activities and obligations, the SFRY Presidency statement says.

Republic Leaders on EC Conference

LD1910031591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At a news conference Milan Kucan regarded the isolation of the Serbian delegation, with relation to the document on Yugoslavia's restructuring adopted in The Hague, as a surprise. Dimitrij Rupel [Slovene foreign affairs minister] regards Bulatovic's distancing from Serbia's position as a diplomatic concession to [word indistinct] created by the block of the republics which are opposing the aggressor. Kucan said that the EC had already prepared sanctions against any future violators of the cease-fire, and that this was primarily an embargo on oil supplies. According to Kucan's explanation the cessation of hostilities on the basis of the latest Hague document is to come into effect from the moment the federal Presidency has officially informed the General Staff. [word indistinct] will be jointly signed by Mesic and the other members of the Presidency.

The president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Alija Izetbegovic, also held a news conference in Sarajevo following his return from The Hague. Although he said in The Hague that the proposed concept of a loose community was acceptable in principle, Izetbegovic nevertheless maintains that this is too loose an association after all. As for the parts of the Hague documents referring to human and minority rights, the Bosnia-Herzegovina president says they are honed to perfection. Nevertheless, he doubts they are going to be adopted, referring to those minorities which do not want to be minorities. Bearing in mind that the Hague conference was some sort of a test of Bosnia-Herzegovina's sovereignty, Izetbegovic said that it was only he, and no one else, who had been advocating this republic's interests. In addition to this, he stressed that Europe and the world had now made it obvious that they did not accept the rump presidency's decisions.

We have also learned from our Sarajevo correspondent that a news blockade of sorts has been imposed on Sarajevo since yesterday. All telephone and telex lines to the west of the country and to Europe are cut off. All news programs by Sarajevo media are based on TANJUG's information.

Jovic: Hague Plan 'Unacceptable'

LD2010223791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2128 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] Novi Sad, October 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency member Borisav Jovic stated on the Novi Sad prime news on Sunday night that Serbia could not sign the Hague document because this document did not

respect the interests of the Serbian people and because it opted for the liquidation of the existing state of Yugoslavia.

Jovic said that the document offered a concept for solving the Yugoslav crisis by creating six states and dividing the Serbian people among several states, something Serbia finds unacceptable.

The third, but not the least significant reason for not accepting The Hague document, was that "we have no such mandate to break up the state and sign something like this," said Jovic.

Since the crisis in Yugoslavia was caused by the secession of certain republics, i.e. peoples who wanted to leave Yugoslavia, it is our belief, Jovic noted, that the natural way to solve matters was either to suppress secession or finding a legal way for achieving this secession, on condition that the existence of the state and its survival in these parts could not be questioned.

The Hague conference, Jovic believes, must continue seeking a reasonable solution to the Yugoslav crisis. He recalled that Serbia's proposal to continue negotiating the disputed questions has been accepted.

Belgrade Papers Cited on EC Effort

*LD2010193191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1407 GMT 20 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 20 (TANJUG)—Belgrade papers close to the government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia say today that The Hague agreement of October 18 is an attempt to wipe out Yugoslavia and that it puts into question the political ability of the European Community.

POLITIKA writes that the document is "incredibly absurd" because "it does not mention Yugoslavia at all." Not a single text in the history of negotiations of the international community has been made "in such haste and with such inconsistencies," the paper notes and adds that it practically wipes out the state of Yugoslavia. POLITIKA goes on to say that doubts are also increasing as to the political ability of the EC. "The European solution of the Yugoslav problem is at the same time a dramatic struggle for EC unity," it adds.

POLITIKA EKSAPRES says that The Hague document puts "the initiators of secession" in the position of state entities, pushing Yugoslavia to "underground." [sentence as received] "The key problem that has to be untangled is the relation between Serbs and Croats and yet this is the only issue which was practically ignored in The Hague", notes the paper and warns that "the EC forgets that without a solution to the Serbian question Europe will not be able to sleep peacefully".

In the opinion of VECERNJE NOVOSTI, EC intentions will be recorded in history "as an example of drowsy consciousness and unprecedented hypocrisy". The paper

warns that "the off-handed tailoring in The Hague is a preparation for new European and global catastrophes."

Reportage on Peace Conference in The Hague

WA1810150391

For reportage on the EC peace conference in The Hague to find a solution to the Yugoslav conflict, including reports on the EC recognition proposal and the Yugoslav Presidency agreement to a cease-fire, please see the the International Affairs section of the 18 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Croatian, Slovenian Leaders at NATO Assembly

*LD1910180291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1727 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Madrid, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—President of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Zarko Domljan appealed on Friday to the participants of the annual assembly of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) parliamentarians to, 'in the name of humanness and future life together,' help Croatia and recognize its independence.

Domljan was speaking in the capacity of 'special guest' in the commission for civilian questions as part of the North Atlantic alliance's regular annual assembly in Madrid.

Besides most Eastern European countries which are attending the meeting as '[word indistinct] members,' delegates from the Soviet Baltic republics and the Russian Federation have been invited as 'observers,' and the representatives of the Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Slovenia as 'special guests.'

Both at the news conference and at the meeting of the commission for civilian matters, there were questions on why only the representatives of the two secessionist Yugoslav republics were invited on this occasion.

Journalists asked why Yugoslavia was not invited, or the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, so that 'the other side could be heard too.'

The response was that Croats and Slovenes were invited because they themselves had asked to come, as well as for the participants of the meeting to get 'first hand' information about what was happening there, and that the commission would send its delegation to Yugoslavia shortly, when the 'other side' would be heard too.

Slovenia and Croatia adopted unilateral decisions on secession from Yugoslavia in late June and reaffirmed them in early October.

Domljan accused Serbia for the war in Croatia. According to him, the main goal of the aggression against Croatia is the changing of the historical borders between the republics.

Internal borders in Yugoslavia are not guaranteed under any international treaties. They are a product of an accord of the Yugoslav communist leadership at the end of World War Two, and were reaffirmed by the 1974 Federal Constitution.

'Yugoslavia was created by force and maintained with the help of force, and attempts at maintaining it by force exist also today, even though, except for the Serbs, no-one else wants to live in it,' Domljan said.

President of the Slovenian Assembly Foreign Policy Committee Matijaz Sinkovec was briefer and more direct in his speech.

He said that Slovenia had already fulfilled three important conditions for international recognition—it has its clearly defined territory, has its people and entirely controls its territory.

Therefore, Sinkovec said, Slovenia expects the international community to recognize it as soon as possible.

Separovic's Letter to FRG, Italy, Austria

*LD2010171191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Oct 91*

[Text] The Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic sent a letter today to the foreign ministers of Germany, Italy, and Austria—Genscher, De Michelis, and Mock—before a meeting between EC and EFTA countries in Brussels tomorrow.

In eight points, which were discussed at a Croatian Government session on Saturday, Separovic demands an unconditional withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army and other Army forces from the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia. He further demands that the blockade of towns, roads, ports, and airspace be lifted.

After Serbia refused to place its signature on a European proposal for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, all the conditions have been created for the introduction of sanctions against Serbia, both economic sanctions and measures of political isolation, in addition to the preparations for sending military peacekeeping forces, particularly to support the monitoring mission in Yugoslavia.

The letter stresses that it is necessary to delegatize [delegalizirati] the current federal bodies because a coup d'etat and a military putch were carried out in Belgrade. He particularly stressed that the time has come to recognize the Republic of Croatia and other republics seeking recognition.

Vukovar and Dubrovnik's difficult position was specially highlighted. A conclusion of the government was also sent on the genocide against the citizens of Ilok and neighboring areas, mainly the Croats and Slovaks. A proposal was made to exercise pressure on Montenegro to withdraw its reservists from the Republic of Croatia.

Official Protests Hungary's Interference

*LD1810194891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1836 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—Top official of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Milan Veres today called Hungary's Ambassador to Yugoslavia Istvan Oszi and lodged with him a sharp protest on the occasion of a document of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry "on political and ethnic clashes in Yugoslavia."

The document contains unfounded and tendentious qualifications of events in Yugoslavia, it was said.

The Yugoslav Ministry particularly protested against a Hungarian demand that the international community, apart from diplomatic and economic, exert military pressure on Yugoslavia and also that the Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Slovenia be provided with modern weapons.

The Hungarian Ministry in the text negates the existence of Yugoslavia. "Talks on the future of Yugoslav territories" are sought in the document and Hungary's own "concepts" are announced. The Yugoslav Ministry assesses that this could conceal territorial aspirations.

The Yugoslav reaction points out that such an act unequivocally shows that Hungary is continuing a policy of gross interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

Noting that the document was handed to a wider circle of members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), it was concluded that Hungary is even resorting to exerting pressure on other countries to take biased stands.

The ambassador was told that Yugoslavia has on several occasions drawn the attention of the Hungarian Government to the very dangerous consequences of illegal deliveries of weapons and equipment to Yugoslavia.

Despite assurances on the part of Hungary that such a practice would not continue, including promises made by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, illegal deliveries of weapons continue in an organized manner, even after U.N. Security Council Resolution 713. The Yugoslav side has irrefutable proof of this. Veres firmly reiterated the demand that Hungary cease anti-Yugoslav activities.

It was pointed out that through this behaviour, Hungary is objectively encouraging the continuation of clashes in Yugoslavia which is contrary to the provisions of U.N. Security Council Resolution 713 on Yugoslavia and efforts for seeking a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis which international factors are undertaking.

War Threatens Ties to German Textile Market*LD1810205191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1458 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—The war in Yugoslavia threatens to ruin the Yugoslav textile producers' good position on the German market, as the Belgrade daily BORBA said today.

Of the total of 5.4 billion German marks' worth of the German textile industry's foreign trade, Yugoslavia accounts for as much as 2.2 billion German marks.

Business arrangements with German partners (Boss and Bogner) are being cancelled, and continued war conflicts in Yugoslavia would be disastrous for the country's textile industry.

As many as 300,000 out of 420,000 workplaces in the Yugoslav textile industry would be threatened by the end of the year, should business deals continue to be cancelled at the present pace.

The Yugoslav textile industry, which has so far exported around 75 percent of its outcome, has become one of the country's most effective economic branches thanks to the fact that it had long ago begun the restructuring in accordance with the requirements of the international division of labour.

Ethnic Slovene Ambassador to Portugal Resigns*LD1810132791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1246 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Madrid, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to Portugal Stefan Korosec is leaving the embassy in Lisbon next week after spending a year in office.

Ambassador Korosec told TANJUG today he had made the decision on the basis of a message received from Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel earlier this month. Rupel asked all Slovenes in the Yugoslav diplomatic service to say by October 15 whether they intend to join the Slovenian Foreign Ministry or remain in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry.

Before being appointed Yugoslav ambassador to Portugal, Korosec was secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia until the organization disintegrated.

Federal**Kadijevic Orders YPA Cease-Fire in Croatia***LD1910121491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The information service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has been authorized to publish the text of the cease-fire order issued by Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense:

"Based on the decision made by the SFRY Presidency on 18 October 1991, the units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] will implement a cease-fire on the territory of the Republic of Croatia and act in accordance with the decision of the SFRY Presidency with regard to all other matters.

"The cease-fire comes into effect at 1200 [1100 GMT] on 19 October.

[Signed] "Army Gen. Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense"

Defense Ministry Warns Croats on Dubrovnik*LD1910215191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1835 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Defence Ministry warned today the general public at home and abroad that Croatian forces were planning to destroy the medieval Adriatic town of Dubrovnik in Croatia. The ministry, in its announcement presented to TANJUG, said that "Army members on their part are doing their best to spare this town of inestimable historic and cultural value."

Fighting continued around Dubrovnik today, and the ministry accused the Croatian side of having violated the agreement on a ceasefire.

"The units of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) have received strict orders not to open fire at Dubrovnik," the army announcement said. "Data at our disposal show that the ustashi legions hiding there, and especially foreign mercenaries to whom Dubrovnik does not mean a thing, are not giving up the scenario of its destruction," said the announcement.

It was added that "an indication" might be gained from the Croatian leadership's launching entirely false reports these days about alleged bombing of Dubrovnik.

Daily Says War Over 'Ethnic Borders'*LD1810161491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1454 GMT 17 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA writes today that peace in Yugoslavia is still not possible because the "strategic objectives of Serbia and Croatia are the same and mutually exclusive."

The war in Yugoslavia is for ethnic borders and "cannot be stopped by those who wage it," assesses the paper. It maintains that the strategic objective of both Serbia and Croatia is to "round out national territories," with each side putting large sections of the other side's territory into its own map.

BORBA sees this as the reason why all ceasefire agreements so far have not been observed, and notes that Europe, which "has seen much," has no real answer for disregard of a given word and "Balkan inconsistencies."

The daily also doubts that the efforts of Europe's twelve will result in peace, but notes that "there may still be slim hopes." In its view, "these hopes now rest with those who do not want to carry arms or to hate, who want life and not death."

BORBA says that involved here are members of the peace movements, groups of intellectuals and minor parties who lack power, "those who offer a civilian instead of a military way out of the bloody Yugoslav drama."

Republics Withhold Payments to Federation

LD1810162491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1837 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Finance Minister Slavomir Stanic today said that the Yugoslav republics this year cheated the federation out of 57 billion dinars and Slovenia carried out a monetary coup by declaring its own currency without authorization. At the official rate of exchange, one German mark is worth 13 dinars and 30-40 dinars at the unofficial rate.

Stanic said in the Federal Parliament today that the federation thus had to cover its expenses by borrowing from the National Bank of Yugoslavia. Problems with the financing of the federal budget began last March when Slovenia first withheld payments. This escalated by the end of June when Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally declared secession from Yugoslavia.

The governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Dusan Vlatkovic, said that measures have been worked out for the protection of a single monetary system in the country. Vlatkovic recalled that Slovenia on October 7 unilaterally decided that the dinar would no longer be a means of payment on its territory and introduced the tolar as the sole means of payment.

By the end of the week, Slovenia is to return all dinar bank-notes in its banks. The money which is not returned will be converted into dollars and treated as its foreign currency debt to the federation.

Vlatkovic explained that Slovenian business banks are forbidden to use the foreign currency deposited on their accounts abroad until they submit proof that they get their obligations guaranteed by the federation, that is, the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia ceased to recognize the foreign currency debts of Croatian and Slovenian [words indistinct] as of June 27, and no longer guarantees for them. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and all central banks will be informed about the unilateral acts of Slovenia's monetary secession, Vlatkovic said.

Today's debate in three committees of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces (one of the two houses of the Federal Parliament) was not attended by delegates from the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

Customs Official on Controls in Croatia

LD2010155191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2104 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—The head of the Yugoslav customs administration, Radosav Sekulic, today said that customs controls behind the combat lines in Croatia would be organized in about 10 days.

Sekulic told journalists this was the only way to prevent the entry of narcotics, arms, criminals and radio-active [words indistinct] or toxins, that might be used for genocide purposes.

He said there were reports of tanks coming in to Croatia from Hungary.

Sekalic recalled that the borders of Slovenia and Croatia remained completely open after the expiry of the moratorium on their decisions on independence and sovereignty on October 7.

He said that "regardless of the decisions in The Hague, the federal customs administration links its fate to the republics which want to stay in Yugoslavia".

Conflict Between Republics Affects Economy

LD1810162291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1213 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—The remaining ties between firms in different Yugoslav republics and hints about the establishment of new ones are kept secret for fear that even the little trade left between them may be lost.

Following the logic of economic survival, two big firms from Serbia and Croatia have been exchanging truckloads of goods necessary for their operation near Mostar, a town in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On the other hand, even the biggest firms are succumbing to new local imperatives. The Slovenian firm Krka of Novo Vesto recently left the Frankfurt-based Comibank Trade Company, founded 36 years ago by the Belgrade export-import company Genex.

Bozidar Cavrlovic, until recently general manager of Comibank, told reporters that even under the present conditions in Yugoslavia they had not severed ties with their partners as it would be economically unjustifiable.

For that reason, Genex is nurturing its ties with the Slovenian paper accessories factory Sladkogorska of Maribor, which has been successfully present on the German market for the past three years.

The fact that the staff in 42 of Yugoslavia's 52 economic offices abroad is still composed of representatives of all the republics and provinces shows that not all is lost for the Yugoslavia economy.

The latest analyses show that disassociation in conditions of war has not helped any firm to become more

efficient. As much as one-third of all Yugoslav companies are operating on the verge of bankruptcy and their number is growing.

Agricultural, Food Exports Increase Over 1990

*LD1810162391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0741 GMT 17 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—Around 940 million dollars' worth of agricultural and food products were exported from Yugoslavia from January through September this year, or 11 percent more than in the corresponding period last year, the Federal Government Information Secretariat has said.

In the first nine months this year, Yugoslavia imported agricultural and food products (excluding citrus fruit, coffee, tea and spices) worth around 701 million dollars, or around 30 percent less than in the corresponding period of 1990.

Higher exports and lower imports indicate that the foreign trade exchange in the area of agricultural and food products will be balanced, a representative of the Foreign Trade Secretariat has said.

Slovenia

Agreement Signed on Federal Army's Withdrawal

*AU1810202191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1800 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Delegations of the Republic of Slovenia and of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense signed an agreement in Ljubljana today on Army's final withdrawal from the Republic of Slovenia. One half of the Army's contingent will withdraw by Monday, 21 October, and the other half of the units will withdraw in two groups, by Friday, 25 October.

The agreement envisages that the Army units will—today or tomorrow—clear mines from all installations and trains loaded with military and technical equipment. Slovenes will guarantee complete security during this move.

Immediately after signing the agreement, the Yugoslav Army will start handing over any remaining arms and military equipment to the Territorial Defense. The Republic of Slovenia will ensure that the military technical means [vojaska tehnika], technical materiel, ammunition, and other weapons gathered at the Vrhnika barracks, at the Cerklje Air Base, and in the Mackovec warehouse near Postojna are protected. Up to 120 civilians will take care of the maintenance of the equipment that will remain in Slovenia as the Army's property until the final settlement is drawn up.

The Yugoslav Army will hand over to the authorized organs of the Republic of Slovenia all other goods, including fixed and movable objects in the military hospital in Ljubljana, the military center for medical

rehabilitation in Rimske Toplice, and technical maintenance service in Bregana. The delegation of the Federal Secretariat has also agreed to hand over all documentation on military apartments in Slovenia by 25 October, at the latest. The Army will also hand over all documentation on military pensioners. The two delegations will also agree on the method of providing medical care for insured military persons and giving pensions to military pensioners in Slovenia.

The two delegations are expected to meet again on 24 October to review the implementation of the mutual agreement and resolve any new questions that arise.

Army Departs From Gorisko Area

*AU1910191291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1430 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] This morning the Territorial Defense assumed protection of the military convoy at the Ajdovscina railroad station. The convoy consists of 52 railroad cars loaded with various weapons, ammunition, and other goods and equipment of the Yugoslav Army which is withdrawing from the upper Vipava valley. The cars also contain 16 tanks. The members of the Territorial Defense will guard the convoy until it is transported to the gathering center in Slovenia. It is expected that this will happen in one or two days.

Our correspondent Marjan Drobez also reports that the Territorial Defense started taking over the so-called northern Army barracks in Vipava. This is the last installation the Territorials will take over from the Army in the Gorisko region. There were some 70 federal soldiers and officers stationed in the barracks. According to the plan, they will first depart for Postojna. From there they will go to Koper harbor, where they will leave Slovenia.

Withdrawal From Maribor Proceeds

*AU1910192091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1430 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] At 1030 GMT the members of the Territorial Defense in Maribor started taking over the railroad convoy loaded with military equipment, ammunition, and explosives at Studenci railroad station. The Territorial Defense and Yugoslav Army commissions will end the transfer by 1700 GMT. Afterward, this convoy, which contains hazardous substances, will be moved from Maribor.

At 1400 GMT the military bakery in Maribor will also be handed over. The troops stationed in Slava Klavora barracks are still waiting for permission by the Headquarters of the Fifth Military District to use civilian communications, as the Slava Klavora Barracks contain the (?military switchboard) [vojaska centrala]. If they receive permission, the transfer of the barracks will take place immediately; otherwise, it will occur on 24 October.

Impaired Communications Network Detailed

*AU1910185891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1800 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] We have had many problems lately when reporting from Croatia. For quite some time we have been relying on Croatian Television and HINA. TANJUG does not provide enough accurate information on Croatia. As of yesterday, we have not received TANJUG either. Since 1300 [1200 GMT], all telephone and teletype links between Slovenia and Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro have been interrupted. The only uninterrupted communications are those with Zagreb and Rijeka. Telephone connections with Dalmatia, the region of Vinkovci, Vukovar, and Osijek are very tenuous. There are no problems with international telephone lines. According to the latest information from Croatia, the post office communications network has been damaged by bombing.

Health Minister, Deputy Offer Resignations

*AU1910184891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 0600 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] The medical workers have called off their strike when yesterday they realized that collective agreements for medical workers were initialed and health care problems placed on the agenda of the Slovene Assembly session planned for 23 and 24 October. The workers also received written assurances that Health Minister Dr. Katja Boh and her deputy, Dr. Tone Kosir, have offered their resignations to Prime Minister Lojze Peterle.

The strike has only been halted temporarily, as the workers will continue to watch if monitor fulfillment of the promises given. If the workers judge that the promises have not been fulfilled, they will resume their strike.

Boh Views New Legislation

*AU1910212591 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Besides the problems in forestry, ecology, and pensioners' and disabled insurance, the Slovene Assembly will also discuss health care next week. The legislation in this sensitive and very important area was the subject of today's roundtable, organized by the Party of Democratic Renewal. Slovene Health Minister Katja Boh responded to the invitation by the shadow government, club of deputies [name as heard], and the Female Faction. Alenka Terlep reports:

[Begin Terlep recording] Slovenes visit a physician approximately eight times a year. We often use medical services unnecessarily because we are uneducated in the medical sense, Boh informed us today. In any case, we will have to get rid of this habit. New legislation will help us, as the emphasis will be shifted from secondary health care, hospitals, to primary health care, health centers.

The prevention of disease will now become a special issue. Numerous smaller hospitals, like Brezice, will be

shut down because too many are concentrated in one area. By doing so, it will be easier to provide better equipment and better staff, says Boh, who adds that we must also add many maternity wards.

Private health care will also become important. However, the statement that the competition clause is needed—that is, a physician [who runs private practice] cannot at the same time be employed by a state institution, but can sign contracts with it—has been rebuffed by Dr. Marko Demsar, who said that the legislation does cover private practice but does not really give it much scope. As a result of reorganization, which will take at least five years, health care will be financed differently. It is envisaged that state institutions will only provide basic health care. Voluntary insurance will be introduced to cover additional services. Boh admitted that it will be difficult to change people's minds and convince them that re-organization of the health care is needed. Sonja Lokar [Party of Democratic Reform] said that it is not wise to centralize health care too much and that communal authorities should also be allowed to assess their needs.

In short, how much medical care you one will get in the future will primarily depend on the thickness of one's wallet. [end recording]

Chamber of Economy Withdraws From SFRY System

*LD2010170791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1841 GMT 17 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian Chamber of Economy has withdrawn from the Yugoslav system of the Chambers of Economy.

"The Slovenian Chamber of Economy will because of its many-sided interests in future cooperate with Chambers of Economy of other republics and provinces on the basis of common interests and will arrange new forms of cooperation in conformity with these interests," as set out in a message sent to the Executive Committee of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy (PKJ).

Slovenia has proposed that it continue paying the PKJ membership fee by the end of the year, but that the PKJ representative offices abroad headed by Slovenians not be dissolved during that period. PKJ President Dagmar Sustar, a Slovenian, resigned from his post in early October. PKJ Assembly is to confirm the resignation at its session on October 23.

Liberal Democrats Claim Budget Act 'Unlawful'

*LD2010170891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1550 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Ljubljana, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—The Liberal Democratic Party of Slovenia (LDS), the strongest opposition party in this Yugoslav Republic, today accused the government of Alojz Peterle, in front of journalists, of unlawful action in the field of public finances and the

budget and announced that all three chambers of the parliament will file an interpellation on the government's work.

It has not been ruled out that a parliamentary debate also launch the question of confidence in the government even though its aim is only to discuss the budget, according to what LDS President Jozef Skoljac told a news conference.

Namely, Liberal Democrats got their hands on an unpublished document, i.e. a government decision on "coordinating the budget" for this year and with the help of an expert analysis established that it was actually a budget revision and had nothing to do with "coordination", which the government would have a right to do, in the instance of higher expenses due to inflation.

Under this decision, as set out to journalists, the Slovenian Government illegally changed the structure of the receipts and payments in the budget which is exclusively in the competency of the republican assembly.

The LDS has indicated that the government diminished or increased some items in the budget, while the budget on the whole was increased by around nine and a half billion tolas, i.e. by around eleven billion dinars (some 900 million marks according to the official exchange rate).

Republic Seeks Membership in UNESCO

LD1810161591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1604 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia has sent an official request to the director-general of the United Nations (U.N.) Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for admission to the agency. Slovenia also expressed the wish for UNESCO to review its request this month at a regular annual conference in Paris, as reported. The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia proclaimed independence and sovereignty on June 25 and ratified it on October 7.

Croatia

Tudjman Addresses Zagreb News Conference

LD1910024791 Zagreb HTV Television
in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Remarks by Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, at a news conference in Zagreb on 18 October—recorded]

[Text] On behalf of Croatia I explained that Croatia accepted in general this proposal because it proceeds from the fact that sovereign and independent republics regulate their relations as international entities. It is proposed that they set up a voluntary association, a voluntary union, with regard to economic matters.

According to this EC proposal, each republic receives international recognition as a sovereign state, becomes an international entity, has its own armed forces, its own foreign policy, and can decide on its own whether or not it will have any kind of union with the others with regard to defense forces. The same goes for this voluntary union, which would also have international standing to the extent these republics mutually agreed on it. What is essential about this EC proposal is that Croatia would achieve full international recognition, full statehood in every respect. With this viewpoint in mind I accepted it, together with some proposals that do not basically infringe on the proposed draft plan.

President of Slovenia Kucan also accepted this proposal as a basis for consideration, but he expressed his reservations regarding an association by saying that an independent and sovereign Slovenia would further consider if it would maintain relations, and what kind, with any individual republics. Or else it would establish and regulate relations with such an association if it comes into being. This proposal was also accepted by the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mr. Izetbegovic, and the president of Macedonia, Mr. Gligorov.

President of Serbia Milosevic voiced remarks which, in effect, call into question the very foundations, the initial foundations, of this proposal. He said that the draft plan constituted in principle a basis for consideration, but, but, there were a number of buts. His main remarks are to this effect: The proposal ignores the existing constitutional makeup, the existing legal and constitutional situation; the proposal is set under the pretence that there is no Yugoslavia any longer, and so on and so forth. Thus he did not reject it, but his remarks were such that they suggested that this first part, the general introductory part of this proposal for a settlement, had not been accepted by Serbia. In fact, it did not accept item No. 1—1.1 and 1.2.

There was a minor surprise—well, it was a huge surprise. In a way, it was almost a bomb in the conference hall; that is, Montenegrin President Bulatovic's statement that Montenegro accepted these proposals. The debate then dealt with some individual issues: the issues of human rights, economic relations, minority rights, and so on. There were no serious differences over these issues. Mr. Markovic, the Federal Executive Council president, also took part in this economic debate. He, of course, expounded his well-known notions as to how a free market, economic reforms, and so forth provide a basis for democracy.

Tudjman Orders Cease-Fire, End of Blockade

LD1910123891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has issued the following order:

In keeping with the decision of the conference on Yugoslavia held in The Hague on 18 October 1991, and in

connection with the SFRY Presidency's order to the Federal Secretary of National Defense for an unconditional cease-fire given on the same day [as heard], I order, in my capacity as supreme commander of the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia:

1. The armed forces of the Republic of Croatia, the National Guard, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs to establish an absolute cease-fire as of 1200 [1100 GMT] today, 19 October; and

2. The lifting of the blockades on all barracks and installations under Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] control on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

The implementation of these orders, in the spirit of the agreements reached by the conference on Yugoslavia at The Hague on 4 and 18 October 1991, implies the lifting of blockades on YPA barracks and military installations on the part of the Croatian armed forces and, simultaneously, the lifting of blockades on settlements [naselja], ports, roads, and air traffic on the part of the YPA, that is, the armed forces of the SFRY, as the first phase of their withdrawal from Croatia, in a manner to be determined by representatives of Croatia and the YPA, with the participation of the EC observer mission.

Commanders of the Croatian armed forces and crisis headquarters are required to report to local representatives of the YPA and the SFRY armed forces to ensure the implementation of the ordered and lasting cease-fire.

Military Sources on Cease-Fire Violations

LD2010130891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1130 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] Bosanska Gradiska, Oct 20 (TANJUG)—Croatian forces this morning opened fire from mortars and cannons on the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army in the area of Nova Gradiska in western Slavonia, TANJUG's correspondent reports.

Quoting military sources, the correspondent says that the army is still refraining from responding to yet another violation of the ceasefire established at noon yesterday.

Croatian artillery attacks on the areas of Novska and Jasenovac in western Slavonia also continue, but with less intensity than last night.

The situation around Bosanska Gradiska, a town in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina in which Yugoslav Army regular and reserve troops are stationed, seems to be calm today after the attack yesterday afternoon in which one person was killed and two other wounded.

Slavonia Violations Noted

LD2010165191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1542 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] Banja Luka, Oct 20 (TANJUG)—Despite cease-fire orders, fighting continues today in several western Slavonian localities today, TANJUG reporters say.

The command of the Banja Luka corps of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) [YPA] announced that clashes flared especially near the village of Lipik, where Croatian forces at 9.30 a.m. (0830 GMT) today opened artillery fire at JNA positions close to the villages of Dobrovac and Filipovac. Croatian forces, it said, continued attacks at JNA positions in villages around Nova Gradiska and Novska.

The JNA Banja Luka Corps command assessed that Croatian forces after midnight were opening sporadic fire only because of extremely bad weather, not because of their intention to observe the ceasefire, since, last afternoon, right after they received orders to cease fire, and until midnight, they (Croatian forces) continued fierce artillery and infantry actions "as if they have received orders to attack, not those to cease fire."

The command said that civilian targets in Bosanska Gradiska also came under fire, when one person was killed and two wounded. It said JNA units have not yet responded with fire but warned that they "cannot remain idle when the lives of soldiers are endangered."

Cease-Fire Agreed in Dalmatia

LD2010201291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Knin Corps Command and the Commission of the Republic of Croatia for Northern and Middle Dalmatia signed an agreement in Zitnic near Drnis today on the implementation of the SFRY Presidency's decisions reached in The Hague on 18 October 1991. The agreement was signed by commander of the Knin Corps command, Major General Vladimir Vukovic, and on behalf of the Croatian Government by Drago Krpina, commissioner for Northern and Middle Dalmatia.

Point one of the agreement obliges both sides to carry out a total cease-fire, to control all armed formations, groups and individuals, and to exchange and evacuate the wounded, those who have died, and POW's.

This agreement further envisages the appointment of a joint commission whose duty will be the removal of all barricades, minefields, and the separation of warring armed forces.

The agreement also sets out that the blockade of all Army barracks and facilities in the area of Northern and Middle Dalmatia should immediately be lifted and the evacuation is to be carried out as soon as possible.

Refugees should be allowed to return home, and people can move freely but without arms.

The agreement also envisages that all contentious legal issues will be settled by a joint commission. Members of the EC mission are allowed to visit all places in which they are interested.

Cease-Fire in Vukovar Ignored

LD1810224991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2145 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Text] Vukovar, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—Fierce battles between Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) units and Croatian armed formations in the besieged city of Vukovar have been waged throughout the day despite a new ceasefire signed in The Hague today. The ceasefire should have taken effect at 13:00 (12:00 GMT) today.

TANJUG reported from Vukovar that YPA units and Serbian Territorial Defence (T.O.) members in this city in Croatia close to the Republic of Serbia, were applying the tactic 'two steps ahead, one back' in order to evade to the utmost the possibility of human losses in capturing the city.

The YPA Vukovar Units Command said that their barracks in southern Vukovar came more than once under fire, also at the time a team of journalists were present.

The Croatian-controlled city section, as may be sighted from the barracks, has been nearly entirely demolished.

Fierce battles have been waged these days around Borovo Naselje, where between 120 and 150 Croatian national guardsmen were killed, it was made public today by Rade Leskovac, deputy information minister of the so-called Serbian region of Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srem.

Rade Leskovac told newsmen in the locality of Erdut that fighting was going on along the Vinkovci-Osijek line in the vicinity of the settlements of Lastova and Tenjski Martunovci.

As he said, in and around Ostrvo, unexploded shells, when dismounted [as received], suggested that 'war gases of sorts' were used by Croatian guardsmen in this clash.

The [word indistinct] farm outside [place-name indistinct] came under heavy mortar fire, and [word indistinct] village of Palaca where some of the fiercest battles were waged, Leskovac said. He said that during the liberation of Baranja, 22 Serbian T.O. members were killed.

In Borovo Naselje, near Vukovar, the railway station was taken over by YPA units yesterday. YPA sources said conditions were created for capturing the entire settlement of Borovo Naselje, the main stronghold of Croatian formations in Western Srem.

Croatian radio reported clashes between Serbian villages and Osijek, the city where three were killed and fifty wounded yesterday. No toll was reported today, and Radio Belgrade said that this apparently meant that most civilians spent the day in shelters.

In Western Slavonia, battles continued around Novska and Nova Gradiska, close to the border with the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Radio Belgrade reported that Petrinja, a town near Sisak in Slavonia, today came under artillery fire concentrated on the YPA barracks that fired back.

The radio added that Croatian formations on the Kupa's left bank opened heavy multi-rocket launcher fire on Glina, where two T.O. members were killed and 31 wounded.

Croatian radio reported that Serbian T.O. members used multi-rocket launchers in attacking Karlovac, the city some fifty kilometres from Zagreb, and that several people were killed or wounded.

Reports coming in from the Dubrovnik area said that clashes were subsiding, and E.C.-brokered negotiations continuing between YPA and city representatives.

YPA representative Col. Radomir Damjanovic denied the rumours that the city of Dubrovnik has suffered devastations. His denial was reaffirmed by E.C. mission member Chris Kipp who said that only the vicinity and outskirts of the city had been shelled.

Representatives of the YPA, the Croatian formations, and of the cities of Sibenik and Split, announced that they were continuing the negotiations on an absolute ceasefire, unblocking the military facilities, and on the mutual lifting of blockades of the two cities.

E.C. mission chief Robert Martini assessed that chances were good of reaching an accord in this section of Dalmatia.

'Relative' Cease-Fire in Vukovar

AU2010191691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 91

[By Mirko Stankovic from Vukovar]

[Text] It seems that the SFRY Presidency's order on the urgent and unconditional cease-fire on the battle fields in Croatia is being increasingly respected in the Vukovar area, but it really is extremely uncertain how long this will last.

It is not an absolute cease-fire, however, but a relative one, which means that there has been no artillery or mortar activity but the night was lit up by occasional automatic gunfire and some sniper fire.

It could be said that the Croatian fighters have welcomed this situation because their supplies of ammunition are [word indistinct].

We can report somewhat more shooting in the well-known Ustasha strongholds of Nustar and Bogdanovci. The residents of Vukovar and Borovo Selo have spent quite a peaceful night for the first time in quite a while. Not one mortar bomb fell on the town and the (?Crepulja) region.

There was somewhat more armed activity near Sarvas where the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army were attacked. The Army did not react to all to these provocations for quite a long time, but because they were directly threatened they were forced to respond strongly. They were aided in this by the airplanes of the Yugoslav Air Force.

Army Claims Republic Mined Vukovar Convoy

LD2010131191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1159 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 20 (TANJUG)—Members of the Croatian forces laid an anti-tank mine under a truck of the Medecins Sans Frontier (MSF) convoy near Vukovar yesterday, the command of the First Army District said in a statement today. Two MSF nurses were wounded in the explosion.

After the incident, members of the humanitarian aid convoy abandoned plans for transferring about 100 wounded from Vukovar to Zagreb across the territory controlled by the Croatian forces, the statement added. They cut radio communication with Croatian forces and, following instructions of the army, continued towards Zagreb today on a highway controlled by the army.

The information service of the First Army District says that members of the Croatian forces hidden in a corn-field near the village of Bogdanovci used a string to pull a landmine under the fourth truck of the convoy. Two nurses, Fabienne Schmidt and Ghislaine Jacquier, were wounded in the explosion.

According to the information service, members of the humanitarian convoy personally saw that members of the Croatian armed forces were behind the attack.

Representation in SFRY Assembly Expires

LD1810163691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—The mandate of the Croatian Assembly's delegation in the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces expired on 8 October. Given that the mandate of Croatian delegates in the Federal chamber had already expired, the Republic of Croatia no longer has representatives in the SFRY Assembly. This is stated in the letter which the Croatian Assembly today sent to Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly.

The letter says that on 8 October, the Croatian Assembly passed a decision whereby the Republic of Croatia breaks off all state and legal ties on the basis of which it

was once part of the former SFRY together with the other republics and provinces. Renouncing legitimacy and legality with regard to all bodies of the former federation, the Croatian Assembly passed a decision on the basis of a claim that Yugoslavia no longer existed as a state community, the letter says. For this reason the earlier guidelines—according to which the Chamber of Republics and Provinces could act as a parliament examining the problem of dissociation—have been altered.

Border Crossings With Slovenia Formalized

LD2010184691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0540 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, October 19 (TANJUG)—Since taking its decision on substantiveness on October 8 this year, Croatia has set up 34 border crossings along its border on Slovenia. Croatia and Slovenia one-sidedly proclaimed their breaking away from Yugoslavia on June 25 this year.

In the transition period, there will be no major innovations relative to customs duties and taxes, for to be kept applied on [as received] is the law on customs tariffs in force before the decisions on making Slovenia substantive were taken.

The amount of foreign exchange permitted to be brought into Croatia is unlimited, while the amount permitted to be brought out is limited to 5,000 dinars in 500- and 100-dinar denominations, Croatia's finance minister, Jozse Martinovic, said. The amount of foreign exchange free to be brought out is limited to 1,000 German marks, in case of banknotes in cash, i.e. to the countervalue in any other currency.

Information Minister: Austria Supports Croatia

LD1810204591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1418 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Text] Vienna, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—"Austria supports Croatia not only politically, but also financially," Deputy Serbian Information Minister Nebojsa Jerkovic said in an interview published by the Vienna daily DIE PRESSE.

Illegal arms shipments for Croatia are passing across Austrian territory, said Jerkovic and added that a quantity of NATO-based materiel was seized from Croatian armed forces.

"The Croatian side alone will be blamed if a lasting and stable ceasefire is not reached," he stressed.

'Forcible Expatriation' of Ilok Citizens Viewed

LD1910212991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] At its session today the Government of the Republic of Croatia discussed a report on the exodus of the citizens of Ilok and its environs and adopted the following conclusions:

The agreement on resettling the citizens of Ilok and of the Ilok area, mostly Croats and Slovaks, signed by representatives of the Yugoslav Army and representatives of Ilok's citizens through the mediation of representatives of the EC observer mission, does not convey the free will of the two sides as it constitutes a grotesque and hypocritical excuse and an attempt to completely humiliate the exiles by force, something that is unprecedented in history. This is a premeditated plan of expatriation under the threat of genocide. Only at gunpoint and with the most brutal threats can one agree to sign the ultimatum-style agreement which even claims that the population of this area conducted a referendum on their own expatriation.

In defiance of this, the Government of the Republic of Croatia assesses that this is a case of forcible expatriation and deportation of citizens from their homes in contravention of the UN Declaration on Human Rights, the Paris Charter, and all international legislation.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia has done its best to prevent the forcible deportation of the citizens of Ilok and neighboring areas and to help find a peaceful solution for their protection in the face of the aggressor's onslaught. A working group has been established by the Croatian Assembly and Government which has been and is investing its efforts, in cooperation with all competent institutions and a large number of citizens, to alleviate as much as possible the suffering of the expelled and deported citizens of Ilok and its environs. To this end the working group of the Croatian Assembly and Government has sent its delegation to Zupanja, where the reception for the expelled and deported citizens has been organized, and then to Ilok, too, where it is charged with the task of establishing immediate contact with representatives of the legal Croatian authorities and representatives of the army of occupation. It should try to prevent the further suffering and expulsion of the citizens of Ilok and neighboring villages.

The Croatian Government and its ministries of labor, social care, health, and internal affairs, in cooperation with municipal crisis headquarters and other competent institutions as well as the many citizens of the Republic of Croatia who have generously provided refuge for the deported people, have provided the 10,250 forcibly expelled and deported citizens of Ilok and its environs areas with accommodation, food, and other necessities.

As it has done on numerous similar occasions, the Croatian Government has informed the domestic and international public about the unprecedented deportation of the innocent civilian population from Ilok and its neighboring areas. It will particularly inform international institutions and organizations and states, especially neighboring states, about this. The Slovak and Czech governments will be informed in particular because this crime is also being directed against the citizens of Croatia of Czech and Slovak descent. The Croatian Government demands that the aggressor Army protect and save all the property belonging to the forcibly

expelled and deported citizens of Ilok and its environs in line with the obligations set down by international conventions and military law and with the obligations arising from the agreement reached in The Hague.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia demands that the aggressor army withdraw from the occupied areas in order to ensure as soon as possible, through mediation by the EC observer mission, the unhindered and safe return of all the forcibly expelled citizens of Ilok and its neighboring villages. The government will also strive to achieve this through its own efforts.

The Croatian Government supports the establishment of the Committee of the Forcibly Expelled and Deported Citizens of Ilok and Its Neighboring Villages which, in cooperation with the working group of the Croatian Assembly and Government and with a joint commission, establish all the circumstances surrounding the forcible expatriation; establish the extent of damage to the property of the expelled citizens of Ilok and neighboring villages—something the Army of occupation embarked upon even before the expulsion itself of the innocent citizens. This is why the competent institutions of the Republic of Croatia will launch an inquiry into all the circumstances surrounding the forcible expatriation of the citizens of Ilok and neighboring villages and, through mediation by the EC observer mission and with the full assistance of the Croatian Government it will also do everything to create the conditions for the return of the deported.

Sisak Oil Refinery Fire Extinguished

LD1910163791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1559 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Sisak, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—The fire that broke out in the Sisak oil refinery during an air attack on this city yesterday, the biggest fire so far since war broke out in Croatia, has been extinguished.

The fire of large proportions caused a damage of an estimated twenty million dollars, leaving the refinery unable to operate.

The fire also caused large-scale ecological pollution of air, water and land in Sisak.

Serbia

Foreign Minister Comments on Hague Talks

AL1910165491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Those who were preparing the document for yesterday's conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague made a big mistake. This was the first reaction by Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of Serbia, on his return from The Hague. He said this in our morning program "Contra et Pro." Here is an excerpt of what Minister Jovanovic said:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] You see, Serbia's rejection was principled. Serbia is not rejecting the efforts and service, even in the form of documents, if they are primarily founded on firm principles and what still constitutes Yugoslav reality. Even though everyone is proclaiming Yugoslavia dead, (?including), unfortunately, the president of Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia is not dead in the international legal sense of the word, because it is still the only internationally recognized legal subject. Yugoslavs, when they travel abroad, travel with Yugoslav passports. Even the Slovenes, when they want to use their own passports, have to carry Yugoslav passports with them.

There are many (?proofs) that Yugoslavia exists, but let us not talk about others. After all, it is not a matter for others to put an end to the existence of a country. This country was the founder, as President Milosevic said in his introductory speech, of the United Nations, and a string of other international institutions. Yugoslavia was a victor in both world wars. It was a founder of the CSCE. It has been a leading member of the Nonaligned Movement for a long time. Yugoslavia is well-known and recognized internationally, and groups of politicians or Eurocrats cannot declare it dead just because two of its republics and its president want them to do so. I think this was a great mistake, not only a political mistake but a fundamental mistake on the part of the authors of the document, because they ignored a little thing called the state. [end recording]

Bosnia, Croatia Serbs Comment on Hague Talks

AU2010221291 Novi Sad TVNS Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Zoran Gacic report on statements by Milan Babic, president of the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina; Radislav Vukic, president of the regional committee of the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnian Krajina; and Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina—recorded]

[Text] [Gacic] The very fact that the highest representatives of the Serbian people in the organs of authority of Bosnia-Herzegovina, leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party, and the governments of the Serbian Autonomous Regions of Krajina and western Slavonia, and the Autonomous Region of Bosnian Krajina met last night in Banja Luka shows that the political events of last week have not resulted in anything good for the Serbian people in these regions, which is something that very few people deny.

The peace conference in The Hague was seen in particular as the epitome of intolerance and disregard for the minimum demands of the Serbian people who want to live in one country and as a hint of their minority status in new sovereign states within the present day administrative borders.

[Babic] The EC has taken a very poor approach toward the basic resolution of the Yugoslav problem. That is, it seems they have agreed it is necessary first, to break up the state of Yugoslavia and then create sovereign states and independent states out of the existing republics in the existing administrative borders; and finally to create, if possible, some kind of economic community with no political unity whatsoever.

This approach does the most harm to the Serbian people. If it were imposed by force, this would be a catastrophe for the Serbian people. It would be a catastrophe even if some of the Serbian people in Yugoslavia were to accept this concept to resolve the Yugoslav problem. The EC must accept the fact that it is the unanimous demand of the Serbian people in Yugoslavia that they live in one federal state.

On our side, as participants in the Hague talks, we actually put forward the position of the Serbian Autonomous Regions of Krajina and Slavonia and Baranja and the demand of the Autonomous Region of Bosnian Krajina that our aim is to preserve the state that exists—that is, Yugoslavia—and to remain an integral part of this state, without preventing other Yugoslav peoples from creating the kind of state communities or sovereign states that suit them.

[Vukic] The Hague became a kind of farce—instead of condemning fascism in Croatia and really understanding the position of the Serbian people on the territory of Croatia, (?where Croatian land is Croatia) and where Croatian territory is not where Serbian hearths are.

They favor Tudjman. They favor Izetbegovic, who is advocating separatism and secession in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They favor the Slovenes, the Macedonians. This can lead only to a joint agreement between the anti-Serbian coalition on the segmentation, that is, the placing of the Serbian people in pens, in the sense that they are controlled as a barbaric people so that they can slowly be demonized.

[Karadzic] Those who participate in resolving the Yugoslav crisis only consider their own interests and not the interests of all participants in this effort, in this Yugoslav crisis. At first, it looks as if this is a bad situation for the Serbian people, but ultimately, this could be very good for the Serbian people. I say that a Serbian state that gathers together all Serbs, and those who want to live with us, into some kind of greater Serbia, would be the ideal to be cherished by every Serb. We have abandoned this ideal, however, because it is not realistic.

It seems, however, that by taking illegal steps, making mistakes, and violating the right of the Serbian people to self-determination, our enemies will take us to our ideal aim.

We are not impotent, we are masters of our own destiny. We will not accept any kind of European ultimatum. Europe will have to take account of us and our moves. Finally, in 1914 (?there was) an ultimatum and in 1941

the same Europe set an ultimatum and we did not accept it. We were in a much more difficult situation then than we are now, and we did not accept an ultimatum even then. We will declare our aims and interests and will not abandon the minimum, the bare minimum, of these interests.

[Gacic] One of the last political arguments about the will of the people would credibly [words indistinct] Europe is the referendum of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been announced for 10-11 November. They will vote on whether they want to live in a common state with Serbia, Montenegro, and the Serbian Autonomous Regions of Krajina and Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem. If the will expressed in this way is not given clear international verification, then there will be no peace in these regions, which is something that no one doubts anymore.

Serbian Renewal Movement Criticizes Hague Plan
LD1910142191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0237 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—Even after the peace vote on Yugoslavia proposal submitted in The Hague today, "everything has not yet been lost," said Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, Serbia's strongest opposition party.

In a statement to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA, Draskovic added that "a new Serbia must present itself before Europe and the World." The Serb-populated Krajinas (border regions) in Croatia "must not be abandoned," he also said.

A loose association concept brought forward in The Hague today is no solution for the Yugoslav crisis, in the opinion of Serbia's Democratic Party leadership. Serbia's Democratic Party does not accept a special status being proposed for the Serb-populated Krajinas in Croatia, said Velimir Brankovic, this party's president to the newspaper.

Jovan Radulovic, foreign minister of the Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) of Krajina not recognized by the Croatian authorities, said that to sign The Hague agreement proposal would "mean humiliation to Serbia." He voiced his contentment with Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic non-acceptance of The Hague agreement today. It provides for recognizing international subjectivity to the republics wishing so and sees Yugoslavia as "a free association of republics with international subjectivity."

The association of Serbs living in Croatia last night offered its full support for Milosevic's stand in The Hague. Croatia's ethnic Serbs "will not allow to be manipulated, nor permit that any inch of soil on which they live belong to an independent state of Croatia," said Mihailo Vucinic, the association president.

Zarko Korac, of Serbia's reformist forces, told the POLITIKA, "a non-acceptance of the agreement is bound to drive us into a chaos directly." Within one month's time, he added, Slovenia and Croatia would become internationally recognized, this meaning for Serbia "Western economic sanctions and introduction to a real bloody war for borders."

Milosav Jovanovic, president of the Workers' Party of Yugoslavia, said that Lord Carrington's proposal lies close to this party's proposal of a year's time ago. This party thinks that "Yugoslavia is possible as a modern economic community with no ideological mists or tricks."

Aleksandar Petrovic, vice-president of Serbia's Liberal Party, said that the agreement proposed in The Hague "was written on the graves of thousands of the dead."

Serbian Opposition Rejects Hague Document

AU1910213891 Belgrade RTV Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Statement by Dragoljub Micunovic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, on The Hague Conference, in Belgrade on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] It is obvious that the government has made many mistakes and omissions in its diplomatic activities up to now. At the time when The Hague conference was being arranged, we drew attention to some dangerous elements, such as those about arbitration and other elements.

The situation now is such that we have a document which is simply unacceptable for the Serbian people because of some of its numerous solutions. I deliberately say the Serbian people, because the document affects the Republic of Serbia less than it affects the Serbian people as a whole. The Serbian people are simply being divided. They will again find themselves scattered and separated in various states.

Considering that these states are not the states that can pride themselves on democracy—on the contrary, living in them would be full of fear, especially after this war in which terrible mistakes have also been made. We should have not entered this war in this way. We should have especially not overstepped the necessary defense. We should have not entered the towns that are not Serbian. We should have not been strictly defensive in this thing. Very grave circumstances have been created and the only fortunate thing is probably the fact that the war, we hope, will soon stop, that a cease-fire will take place.

The result of this, however, is the reconstruction of Yugoslavia, which, the way it was offered in the document, is bad. It has many shortcomings. First of all, the way this community is envisaged it would in fact only be six independent states. On the other hand, the solutions that are being offered, solutions that should improve the position of the Serbian people outside Serbia, above all

in Croatia. They are, in a way, breaking up Serbia itself, within itself. Several autonomous regions, which, according to the document, Serbia should have within itself, would be undermined, autonomous regions that would enjoy great rights. The problem of integration of Serbia itself would emerge.

We in the Executive Council of the Democratic Party will analyze this issue tonight once again. Tomorrow the main council will draft a memorandum, some kind of answer to all this. Our delegation is traveling to London on Tuesday [22 October]. We will continue our efforts to explain as far as we can the situation in which we find ourselves.

Combatants Proposed for Special Status

LD1910173891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1624 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 17 (TANJUG)—Two deputies of the opposition National Party today asked that all mobilized soldiers, reservists and volunteers from Serbia "who are taking part in the internationality war in the Republic of Croatia" be guaranteed the status and rights of the fighters in the National Liberation War. The status of fighters of the National Liberation War so far had only been the privilege of members of the partisan units in the time of the war against the fascist occupiers and quisling forces in the 1941-1945 period.

The deputies of the National Party asked at today's session that the Serbian parliament pass by summary proceedings a law on rights for fighters mobilized on Serbian territory.

The status and rights of fighters of the National Liberation War assumes, according to the deputies' proposal, that the Republic of Serbia ensure them the right to social welfare and health care and double the period of time they spent in the military formations in terms of years of service and retirement years.

Under the [words indistinct] according to the proposal, all rights would be ensured to the families of the dead soldiers and volunteers, as well as to the families which have lost breadwinners, regardless of whether they took part in the war or were the 'victims of the genocide carried out by the Croatian police and national guard.' The two deputies who asked for the law to be passed said that 'it is not logical for the soldiers to be released from hospitals with papers saying that they suffered injuries from sniper bullets while on the job.'

Kosovo Assembly Elects Provisional Government

AU2010153491 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian
2215 GMT 19 Oct 91

[By Besa Ceku]

[Text] The Kosovo Republican Assembly, at a meeting held in Kosovo and chaired by its chairman Iljaz Ramajli, has elected a new provisional coalition government

for the Republic of Kosovo, headed by Dr. Bujar Bukoshi. Ministers were also appointed to the relevant ministries. A foreign minister was to be chosen today, but this did not occur. The delegates commented on this and made specific suggestions. It was decided that a foreign minister, who is now more necessary than ever, will be chosen soon.

On behalf of the members of the newly-elected government, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi thanked the assembly for the trust placed in them and said the government will do its best to justify this trust.

The Kosovo Republican Assembly, after examining the report of the Central Commission on the Conduct of the Referendum, observed that the referendum had been successful and announced its results. A total of 940,802 out of 1,051,357 persons, or 87.01 percent, had voted. A total of 913,707, or 99.87 percent, voted for the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state. The assembly expressed its gratitude to all citizens, the Central Commission, the political parties, and all those who helped the referendum to proceed smoothly.

The meeting also discharged the Executive Council and the former officers of the administrative bodies, thus introducing a provisional coalition government for the Republic of Kosovo on the basis of a multiparty system, in place of a single-party Executive Council. The delegates elected Muharrem Shabani as the Assembly's third deputy chairman. On the proposal of the Constitutional Commission, Amendment No. 1 to the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo was approved. This replaces Article 2 of the Constitution, and reads as follows: The Republic of Kosovo is a sovereign and independent state.

The Kosovo Republican Assembly also examined and approved a decree which states that conditions and circumstances have now been created for the enforcement of Article 1 of the Constitution Law on Amending the Constitution, and discussed the implementation of the Kosovo Constitution and other issues within its authority. We now wish the new government success in its work.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnian Serbs Call For EC Arbitration

LD1910140291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0934 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, October 19 (TANJUG)—The Club of Serbian Deputies to the parliament of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, central Yugoslavia, has asked for the European Community's arbitration commission to come and supervise the functioning of the constitutional order of law in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the opinion of the Serbian deputies, unlawful is a decision taken in their absence by the Croatian and Moslem deputies on Bosnia-Herzegovina's sovereignty.

Late this night, the Club of Serbian Deputies came out against destroying Yugoslavia's legality and violating constitutionality and lawfulness, and called on the Yugoslav People's Army to "by all means prevent a breaking up of the state by force and conflicts among nationalities."

The club decided to schedule a referendum at which Bosnia-Herzegovina's Serbs should make it clear whether they are for remaining in a joint state with Serbia, Montenegro and two autonomous Serbian regions in Croatia. Such a plebiscite is to be carried out on November 10 next, it was said.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbs make 31.46 per cent of its all-in population, Moslems 43.77 per cent and Croats 17.34 per cent.

The club also announced that, as soon as possible, a one-chamber Serbian national assembly would be constituted in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Club of Serbian Deputies deprived Bogic Bogicevic, a member of the collective Presidency of Yugoslavia, of the right to represent the Serbian people as he does not take part in the work of Yugoslavia's collective chief of state.

Bosnian Serbs To Vote in Statehood Referendum

*LD1910230491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1752 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—The Club of Serbian MPs in the assembly of the multi-national Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina decided last night that Serbian people should decide on November 10 by plebiscite whether they wanted to stay in one common state. Upon their freely expressed will, the state-legal status of Serbs would be determined.

Serbs, who account for 31.46 per cent population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, would vote on remaining within their common state together with the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, and with the Serbian Autonomous Regions (SAO) in the Republic of Croatia (SAO Krajina, and SAO Slavonija, Baranja, and Western Srem), just as with others who want the same.

The decision by the Club of Serbian MPs follows the recent parliament session at which deputies of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) which represents Moslems (43.77 per cent of the republic's population) and of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) which represents Croats (17.34 per cent of the republic's population) have voted a memorandum on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This voting took place in the absence of deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS).

The memorandum is considered by SDS deputies to be illegal. They warned that, in case the deputies of the SDA, HDZ, and the supporting opposition parties would not dissociate themselves from the platform and memorandum on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the

Serbian deputies would proclaim their unicameral Serbian Assembly (parliament) in this republic (Bosnia-Herzegovina).

This assembly would be made up of all the current deputies of the SDS and the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) from the current bicameral parliament.

It was explained that the Serbian National Assembly would be open for the full-fledged inclusion of all the other deputies of the Serbian nation from the ranks of the opposition parties on the basis of expression of their own will.

Until the constituting of a Serbian assembly, all SDS deputies decided not to accept any of the illegally made decisions of the republic's assembly, and to keep working in conformity with the federal constitution and statute.

Croatian, Bosnian Krajinas Meet in Banja Luka

*AU1910201091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[By Dragan Stegic from Banja Luka]

[Text] The joint session of the Governments of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina [Croatia] and the Autonomous Region of Krajina [Bosnia-Herzegovina] was held in Banja Luka tonight. In addition to the presidents of these two governments, Milan Babic and Andjelko Grahovac respectively, it was also attended by the leaders of several political parties of this region and of the republic as guests of the session. The session began with a speech by Dr. Milan Babic, who spoke on the results of the Hague conference.

Babic, who represented both Krajinas in The Hague, stressed that at that conference he acquainted the international public with the demands for the creation of an autonomous [samostalan] and free Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina that would draw support from the future Yugoslavia. I also announced the possibility, Babic stressed, of joining the union of Yugoslav states, together with the Autonomous Region of Krajina. This should have been acknowledged as an open question during conference. When I stressed that the Serbs do not want any kind of autonomy in the Croatian state but only in Yugoslavia, the talks were disrupted.

Tonight's meeting was also addressed by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who spoke about the last session of the republican parliament. He said that if the coalition of the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community wants to leave Yugoslavia, then the right of the Serbian people to stay in Yugoslavia is equally legitimate. The Serbian Assembly will be constituted in Bosnia-Herzegovina in accordance with this position. Karadzic said the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] was not legitimate; therefore, the present internal borders are not

legitimate either. Ultimately, we will have to determine how just how large Serbian Bosnia is.

After his speech, the session continued its work behind closed doors. The session is continuing.

Support Unified Country

AU2110092091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 20 Oct 91

[Text] We explicitly demand that the assemblies and the highest state organs of Serbia and Montenegro implement the decision of the Serbian people to remain in a unified country. This was stressed today in a statement from the closed session of the governments of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina [in Croatia] and the Autonomous Region of Krajina [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] held in Banja Luka on 19 October. In addition to Milan Babic and Andjelko Grahovac [presidents of the Croatian and the Bosnian Krajinas, respectively], the joint session was also attended by Momcilo Krajisnik [president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly], Radovan Karadzic [president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina], and Nikola Koljevic [member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency].

Croatian Party Leader Urges SFRY's Division

LD1810203391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1435 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Text] Rijeka, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—President of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) for Bosnia-Herzegovina Stjepan Kljucic today said that a division of the multi-national Yugoslav republic is the only solution.

In an interview for Rijeka's NOVI LIST, the president of the party which rallies Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, expressed the view that Serbs in the republic must separate their territories and their people.

Members of Yugoslavia's three largest peoples live together in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Moslems account for 44, Serbians for 32 and Croats for 17 percent of the population.

According to Kljucic, after Serbs separate, the Croats will propose to the Moslems to remain to live with them in the remainder of the republic which could be completely independent or could join in a confederation with Slovenia and Croatia.

Croatia and Slovenia unilaterally seceded from Yugoslavia late June.

Kljucic said that if the Moslems do not accept the proposal the Croats will also demand their part.

Kljucic also thinks that a division under some international arbitration is better than to have a situation which seems to be pushing Bosnia-Herzegovina into civil war.

Commission Adopts New Coat of Arms, Flag

AU1810154991 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Text] The expert subpanel of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly's Constitutional Commission has adopted a proposal for a new coat of arms and a flag. The coat of arms is a stylized version of a Middle Ages Bosnian coat of arms from the King Tvrtko I era, and the flag is blue with the coat of arms in the center. The coat of arms originates from the time when Bosnia reached the highest degree of political, national, and legal development and independence. But today, if King Tvrtko were to be resurrected, he would not believe his eyes.

The same [word indistinct] is joined by the opinion of the Serbian cultural association, Prosvjeta, which thinks that Bosnia-Herzegovina should have three flags, one of them a Serbian tricolor, and a coat of arms divided into three bands on which each nation can put its own symbol. The question of Jews, Yugoslavs, and others remains open.

Sarajevo Corps Commander on Capljina Incident

LD1910144891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1344 GMT 19 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—The command of the Sarajevo Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) [YPA] says that armed civilians yesterday stopped a military column outside Capljina only several hundred metres before it was due to enter the barracks in this town in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The column, whose movement was properly announced to the local authorities, consists of two trucks carrying tanks and several non-combat vehicles. The command says that the column was escorted by a patrol of the republican Interior Ministry but this was not sufficient to ensure its safe passage.

When the column was stopped, groups of extremists and armed civilians started gathering around it and insulting JNA members. They persuaded the soldiers to leave the vehicles and organized their escape. The Sarajevo Corps says that 18 soldiers were taken away and that a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition and other military equipment was looted.

The legitimate municipal, regional and republican bodies could not restore law and order for 30 hours. In the end, common sense prevailed with the residents of Capljina in resolving the very tense situation which threatened to undermine inter-ethnic relations in this part of the republic and provoke broader conflicts, even a civil war.

Republican Interior Minister Alija Demustafic and his associates were most helpful in calming down the situation.

The Sarajevo Command claims that this was yet another in a series of incidents aimed at provoking and compromising the JNA.

Republic's Telecommunications Under 'Blockade'

*LD2010185591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 91*

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina is under an information blockade. Since 1230 GMT on Friday, 18 October, all telephone and telex communications with Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Western Europe have been severed. Official bodies have not issued any statements regarding the cause of the interruption in telecommunications, but it has been learned unofficially that sabotage has been committed.

Muslim Organization Supports Sovereignty

*AU1810135491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Oct 91*

[Text] At the regular news conference of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] the main topic was the last session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina legislature.

Today in its program the MBO had decided to reaffirm the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and so it was logical that it supported the declaration of sovereignty. The MBO only insisted that all three parties agreed on how to formulate this issue. Taking into account the methods of adopting the acts of independence, the MBO does not consider them being for domestic application but to have only international meaning. Because, by all accounts, the present government is leading Bosnia-Herzegovina into catastrophe, the party says it will initiate a political agreement on a minimal political system in order to surmount the parliamentary blockade.

Montenegro

President Bulatovic Comments on EC Talks

*AU1910163391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] The protection of the Serbian people in Croatia was the main concern of the Montenegrin delegation at the conference in The Hague yesterday. This was stated by Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidency of Montenegro, in a conversation with our correspondent Jago Stojanovic and the correspondents of some other Yugoslav and republican media. Here is what Bulatovic said:

[Begin Bulatovic recording] Presenting the positions of the Montenegrin delegation at yesterday's conference in The Hague, I used the opportunity to inform the conference that the Montenegrin Assembly, and thus all Montenegrins, have been informed about the agreement for the global resolution of the crisis. I also stressed that the positions ought to be presented only as personal acceptance or rejection.

At the beginning I said that we, the Presidency of Montenegro, expressed our dissatisfaction with both the way we were sent the document and with some of its provisions. Considering the dramatic situation that now exists in the country, we also positively assessed the documents' attempt to find a compromise. I am personally satisfied with and encouraged by what was done during the course of the conference itself, in terms of further clarification of the agreement's provisions, (?as well as) with the contribution of the Montenegrin delegation. [end recording]

[Begin Stojanovic recording] Answering reporters' questions, Momir Bulatovic then said that there were no strategic differences between the delegations of Serbia and Montenegro at the conference in The Hague, and in general. The claims that Kostic [vice president of the SFRY Presidency] and I were at odds are not true. I spoke on behalf of the republic and he on behalf of the country, Bulatovic said. No agreement was signed in The Hague. We endorsed in principle the agreement, which only implies the minimum for the peaceful denouement of the Yugoslav crisis and the creation of appropriate associations. Bulatovic said that The Hague meant war or peace. The views expressed in The Hague do not contradict the Belgrade initiative, the president of the Presidency of Montenegro stressed during the conversation with reporters in Titograd that ended few minutes ago. [end recording]

Macedonia

Tupurkovski, Gligorov Comment on EC Conference

*LD1910215691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2041 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] Skopje, October 19 (TANJUG)—Leadership of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia assessed on Saturday night that the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague has shown that the "international factor has forced the protagonists of war in this country to peace."

Macedonia President Kiro Gligorov, Yugoslav Presidency member from Macedonia Vasil Tupurkovski and Macedonia Foreign Minister Denko Malevski told a press conference in Skopje that the protagonists of the

Yugoslav crisis would speedily enter a further stage of negotiation and seeking possible solutions for a way out of the crisis, if the latest ceasefire held.

Gligorov noted that after the Friday conference session in The Hague, everyone would think again about his position so that it may be expected that further talks be questioned. However, Europe has clearly let it be known

that economic sanctions would follow if the ceasefire was not observed, Gligorov said.

In Tupurkovski's view, the new element in connection with The Hague conference was the stand of the Montenegro delegation. We are now in a situation, he said, that five republics held relatively close views, but he would not make any forecasts.